VISUAL CULTURE IN EARLY MODERNITY

ROUTLEDGE

Rubens and the Eloquence of Drawing



Catherine H. Lusheck

An **Ashgate** Book

Rubens and the Eloquence of Drawing

Rubens and the Eloquence of Drawing re-examines the early graphic practice of the preeminent northern Baroque painter Peter Paul Rubens (Flemish, 1577–1640) in light of early modern traditions of eloquence, particularly as promoted in the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Flemish, Neostoic circles of philologist, Justus Lipsius (1547–1606). Focusing on the roles that rhetorical and pedagogical considerations played in the artist's approach to *disegno* during and following his formative Roman period (1600–08), this volume highlights Rubens's high ambitions for the intimate medium of drawing as a primary site for generating meaningful and original ideas for his larger artistic enterprise. As in the Lipsian realm of writing personal letters – the humanist activity then described as a cognate activity to the practice of drawing – a Senecan approach to eclecticism, a commitment to emulation, and an Aristotelian concern for joining form to content all played important roles.

Two chapter-long studies of individual drawings serve to demonstrate the relevance of these interdisciplinary rhetorical concerns to Rubens's early practice of drawing. Focusing on Rubens's *Medea Fleeing with Her Dead Children* (Los Angeles, Getty Museum), and *Kneeling Man* (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen), these close-looking case studies demonstrate Rubens's commitments to creating new models of eloquent drawing and to highlighting his own status as an inimitable maker. Demonstrating the force and quality of Rubens's intellect in the medium then most associated with the closest ideas of the artist, such designs were arguably created as more robust pedagogical and preparatory models that could help strengthen art itself for a new and often troubled age.

Catherine Lusheck (PhD, UC Berkeley), is Associate Professor of Art History at the University of San Francisco. Her research interests include Rubens drawings, and early modern humanism, style, and visual rhetoric. Her publications include "Content in Form: Rubens's *Kneeling Man* and the Graphic Reformation of the Ideal, Robust Male Nude," *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (2000), and a forthcoming essay, "Leonardo's Brambles and their Afterlife in Rubens's Studies of Nature."

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Contents

List of Illustrations ix
Acknowledgments xvii
Prologue: Rubens's Early Drawings and the Problem of Eclecticism xix

PART I
Drawing in Context 1

1 Setting the Stage: Privileging Eloquent *Disegno* in Rubens's Early Drawings 3

2 Style and Eloquence in Rubens's *Milieu* 46

PART II
Case Studies in Graphic Eloquence 93

3 The Getty *Medea* and Rubens's Making of a Modern Senecan *Grande Âme* 95

4 Figuring Eloquence: The *Kneeling Man* and Rubens's Construction of the Robust Male Nude 162

Bibliography 235
Index of Works 269
Index 275

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List of Illustrations

Color Plates

1 Peter Paul Rubens, *Job's Wife*; *Judith and Holofernes* (*Two Copies after Tobias Stimmer*), before 1600, pen and brown ink on paper, 188 × 127 mm. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (inv. 1984.46). Gift of a Trustee. Photograph: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

2 Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of Isabella Brandt*, c. 1622, black, red, and white chalk, with some pen and ink and wash, 381 × 292 mm. British Museum, London (inv. 1893,0731.21). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

3 Peter Paul Rubens, *Study of Blackthorn with Brambles and Other Plants*, c. 1615–20, black, red, and white chalks and yellow watercolor on light brown paper, 545 × 495 mm. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection (D.1978.PG.63). Credit: The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, London.

4 Peter Paul Rubens, *A Man Threshing beside a Wagon*, 1615–17, red, black, blue, green, and yellow chalk, with touches of pen and brown ink, 254 × 414 mm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (inv. 84.GG.693). Credit: Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

5 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Consequences of War* (*Horrors of War*), 1637–38, oil on canvas. Palazzo Pitti, Florence (inv. 86). Credit: Palazzo Pitti, Florence, Italy/Bridgeman Images.

6 Peter Paul Rubens, *A Lioness* (after the bronze Paduan Lion), c. 1613–15, black and yellow chalk with wash and white heightening, 396 × 235 mm. British Museum, London (inv. 1994,0514.46). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

7 Peter Paul Rubens, *Raising of the Cross*, c. 1610, oil on panel. Credit: Onze Lieve Vrouwkerk, Antwerp Cathedral, Belgium/ Bridgeman Images.

8 Peter Paul Rubens, *Self-Portrait with the Mantuan Circle of Friends*, c. 1602, oil on canvas, 77.5 × 101 cm. Credit: Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud, Köln. Photo © Rheinisches Bildarchiv Köln, around 1980/1981, rba_c002373.

9 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Four Philosophers*, c. 1611–12, oil on canvas, 164 × 139 cm. Palazzo Pitti, Florence (inv. 85). Credit: Palazzo Pitti, Florence, Italy/Bridgeman Images.

10 Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of Justus Lipsius*, c. 1615, black chalk, black pen and ink, and wash, 230 × 185 mm. Design for an engraving by Cornelius Galle for Lipsius's edition of Seneca's works, *Opera Omnia*, 1615 (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Press). British Museum, London (inv. 1891,0511.31). © The Trustees of the British Museum.
11 Peter Paul Rubens, *Israelites Wrestling with Giant Snakes, after Michelangelo's Moses and the Brazen Serpent*, c. 1607, pen and ink, and wash, reworked, cut, rearranged, and pasted; with brush and brown wash, white and grey body color and black chalk additions, 304 × 213 mm. British Museum, London (inv. 1895,0915.1055). © The Trustees of the British Museum.
12 Peter Paul Rubens, *Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, 1617–18. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Credit: De Agostini Picture Library; G. Nimatalla/Bridgeman Images.
13 Peter Paul Rubens, *Drawings after Raphael and Holbein*, c. 1600–03, pen and brown ink on paper, 202 × 160 mm. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, SMPK (inv. KdZ 3240r). Photo: Jörg P. Anders/Art Resource, NY.
14 Peter Paul Rubens, *Venus Lamenting Adonis*, c. 1608–12, pen and brown ink, 306 × 198 mm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (inv. 1968.20.1). Credit: Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund. Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
15 Peter Paul Rubens, *Three Sketches for Medea and Her Children*, c. 1600–04, pen and brown ink, 296 × 439 mm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (inv. 84.GA.959 verso). Credit: Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.
16 Raphael, *Studies of the Virgin and Child*, c. 1505–08, pen and brown ink with traces of red chalk underdrawing, 253 × 183 mm. British Museum, London (inv. Ff,1.36). © The Trustees of the British Museum.
17 Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, *Massacre of the Innocents*, 1591, oil on panel. Frans Hals Museum, De Hallen Haarlem. Long-term loan from the Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, The Hague. Photo: Margareta Svensson.
18 Peter Paul Rubens, *Massacre of the Innocents*, c. 1637, oil on panel, 198.5 × 302.2 cm (inv. 572). Credit: Alte Pinakothek, Munich. Photo © Tarker/Bridgeman Images.
19 *Roman Sarcophagus with Scenes from the Myth of Medea*, second century CE, marble. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano (Palazzo Massimo alle Terme). Credit: © 2016. Photo Scala, Florence – courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali.
20 Leonardo da Vinci, *Studies for the Battle of Anghiari*, 1503–04, pen and ink (inv. 10412118). Credit: Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice, Italy/Bridgeman Images.
21 Peter Paul Rubens, *Peasants Dancing* (Study for a *Kermesse*), c. 1629–32, pen and ink over black chalk with traces of red chalk, 502 × 582 mm. British Museum, London (inv. 1885,0509.50). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

22 Peter Paul Rubens, *Hercules Victorious Over Discord*, c. 1615–21, red and black chalk, 425 × 320 mm. British Museum, London (inv. PD 1900,0824.138). © The Trustees of the British Museum.
23 Peter Paul Rubens, *Descent from the Cross* (*Deposition*), c. 1612–14, oil on panel, 421 × 311 cm. Credit: Onze Lieve Vrouwkerk, Antwerp Cathedral, Belgium/Bridgeman Images.
24 School of Raphael, *Massacre of the Innocents*, c. 1524–31, tapestry. Gallery of the Tapestries, Vatican Museums, Vatican State. Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY.
25 Peter Paul Rubens, *Achilles Dipped into the River Styx*, c. 1620–32, oil sketch on panel, 44 × 38 cm. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (inv. 1760). Photo: Kavaler/Art Resource, NY.
26 Leonardo da Vinci, *Cartoon of the Virgin and Child with Saint Anne and John the Baptist*, c. 1500, black chalk and touches of white chalk on brownish paper, mounted on canvas, 141.5 × 104.6 cm. National Gallery, London (inv. NG6337). © National Gallery, London/Art Resource, NY.
27 *The Laocoön and His Two Sons*, Hellenistic (?) Greek, marble, 208 × 163 × 112 cm. Credit: Vatican Museums and Galleries, Vatican City. Alinari/Bridgeman Images.
28 Charles Le Brun, *The Sharp Pain of Body and Mind: Composite Movement* (*La Douleur aiguë du corps et de l'esprit: mouvement composé*). From: Album Charles Le Brun, 1, fol. 26 recto. Black chalk, and pen and black ink, on paper. Credit: Paris, Musée du Louvre (inv. 28348-recto-folio 27). Photo © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.
29 Peter Paul Rubens (or Anthony van Dyck?), *Five Studies for the Suicide of Dido* (or *Thisbe*?), c. 1602–04, pen and brown ink, 193 × 208 mm. Credit: Paris, Musée du Louvre (inv. 19916-recto). Photo: Thierry Le Mage © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.
30 Peter Paul Rubens, *A Kneeling Man*, c. 1609, black chalk with white heightening, 520 × 390 mm. Credit: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (inv. V. 52 PK). Loan Museum. Boijmans Van Beuningen Foundation (Collection Koenigs). Photographer: Studio Tromp, Rotterdam.
31 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1609–10, oil on canvas, 346 × 488 cm (inv. PD1638). Credit: Prado, Madrid, Spain/Bridgeman Images.
32 Peter Paul Rubens, *Écorchés* (Anatomical Studies), c. 1600, pen and ink. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.
33 Anthony van Dyck, *Kneeling Man Seen from Behind*, c. 1617, black and colored chalk. Credit: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam. Photographer: Studio Buitenhof, The Hague.
34 *Sacrifice of the Ox*, antique garden façade relief, marble. Credit: Villa Medici, Rome.
35 Peter Paul Rubens, *Studies of the Farnese Hercules* (recto), c. 1601–02, pen and ink on paper, 196 × 153 mm (D.1978.PG.427r). Credit: The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, London.

36 Peter Paul Rubens, *Study of the Farnese Hercules* (verso), c. 1601–02, pen and ink on paper, 196 × 153 mm (D.1978.PG.427v). Credit: The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, London.
37 Peter Paul Rubens, *Study after the Belvedere Torso* (verso), red chalk. Purchase, 2001 Benefit Fund. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (2002.12 a, b). © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.
38 Michelangelo, *Studies for the Sistine Ceiling and the Tomb of Pope Julius II* (*The Genius Accompanying the Libyan Sibyl*), pen and ink, and red chalk, 286 × 194 mm. The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (inv. WA1846.43). Presented by a Body of Subscribers, 1846.
39 Leonardo da Vinci, *Study of a Nude Man from Behind*, red chalk, c. 1504–05, 270 × 160 mm. Windsor Castle, The Royal Collection (RCIN 912596). Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2016.
40 Peter Paul Rubens, *Man in Korean Costume*, c. 1617, black chalk with touches of red chalk, 384 × 235 mm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (inv. 83.GB.384). Credit: Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

Black and White Figures

0.1 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Entombment of Christ*, c. 1600–08, black chalk, pen and brush and brown and grey ink, brown and grey wash, corrections with white body color, 322 × 408 mm. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (inv. MB 340 PK). Photographer: Studio Buitenhof, The Hague. xx
0.2 Peter Paul Rubens, *Path through an Orchard*, c. 1615–18, pen and ink with wash and some black chalk, 312 × 403 mm (inv. 2178). Credit: Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, UK/ Bridgeman Images. xxi
0.3 Peter Paul Rubens, *Silenus and Aegle with Other Studies*, c. 1612–14, pen and ink. London, Royal Collection. Credit: Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2016/Bridgeman Images. xxii
0.4 Anthony van Dyck (formerly attributed to Rubens), *The Jesuit Nicolas Trigault in Chinese Costume*, c. 1617, black and green chalk on paper, 424 × 248 mm. Credit: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, III, 179. Purchased by Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913) in 1909. Photograph: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. xxvi
1.1 Peter Paul Rubens, *Minerva Protecting Pax from Mars* (*Peace and War*), 1629–30, oil on canvas, 203.5 × 298 cm. Presented by the Duke of Sutherland, 1828. London, National Gallery (inv. NG46). © National Gallery, London/Art Resource, NY. 4
1.2 Peter Paul Rubens, *Milkmaids with Cattle in a Landscape* (*The Farm at Laken*), c. 1617–18, oil on panel, 85.9 × 127.9 cm (RCIN 405333). Picture Gallery, Buckingham Palace, London. Credit: Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2016. 6

1.3 Jacob Harrewijn, after Jan van Croes, *View of the Garden of the Rubenshuis* (detail), Antwerp, 1684, engraving, 287 × 357 mm. Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951 (inv. 51.501.7503). © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Image source: Art Resource, NY. 8

1.4 Peter Paul Rubens, *Alcibiades Interrupting the Symposium*, early seventeenth century, pen and brown ink, over black chalk, 267 × 367 mm. Gift of Harold K. Hochschild, 1940 (inv. 40.9.12). © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Image source: Art Resource, NY. 10

1.5 Peter Paul Rubens, Title Page for Justus Lipsius's *Opera Omnia* (Antwerp, 1637), engraving by Cornelis Galle, 321 × 202 mm. British Museum, London (inv. 1858–0417.1233). © The Trustees of the British Museum. 18

1.6 Peter Paul Rubens, Title page, *L[ucii] Annaei Senecae philosophi Opera, quae exstant omnia: a Justo Lipsio emendate et scholiis illustrate* (Antwerp: Plantin-Moretus Press, 1605). Credit: Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp. Photo: Peter Maes. 22

1.7 Peter Paul Rubens, *Battle of Nude Men*, c. 1600, pen and brown ink over black chalk on three irregularly cut sheets of buff laid paper, 141 × 252 mm. Credit: Julius S. Held Collection, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund. Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 27

2.1 Jacob Harrewijn, after Jan van Croes, *View of the Garden of the Rubenshuis, Antwerp*, 1684, engraving, 287 × 357 mm. Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951 (inv. 51.501.7503). © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Image source: Art Resource, NY. 53

2.2 Gerard Mercator, *Literarum Latinarum . . . Ratio* (Antwerp: Verlag Richard, 1540). Credit: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 12499503 – 999/4Hist.lit.127, fol. 14. Permalink: http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11061986-6. 71

3.1 Peter Paul Rubens, *Three Groups of Apostles in a Last Supper*, c. 1600–04, pen and brown ink; 296 × 439 mm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (inv. 84.GA.959 recto). Credit: Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. 96

3.2 Peter Paul Rubens, *Three Sketches for Medea and Her Children* (detail), c. 1600–04, pen and brown ink. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (inv. 84.GA.959, verso). Credit: Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. 101

3.3 Peter Paul Rubens, *Three Sketches for Medea and Her Children* (detail), c. 1600–04. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (inv. 84.GA.959, verso). Credit: Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. 102

3.4 Peter Paul Rubens, *Three Figures from a Roman Sarcophagus*, c. 1602–06, black chalk, 250 × 460 mm. Credit: The Leonora Hall Gurley Collection, The Art Institute of Chicago (inv. 1922.2002). 105

3.5 Marcantonio Raimondi (after Raphael), *Massacre of the Innocents*, c. 1511, engraving, 280 × 437 mm. Credit: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam/Bridgeman Images. 108
3.6 Peter Paul Rubens, *Three Sketches for Medea and Her Children* (detail), c. 1600–04, pen and brown ink. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (inv. 84.GA.959, verso). Credit: Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. 110
3.7 *Medea Killing Her Children*, engraving from Andrea Alciati's *Emblemata* (Padua, 1621), emblem 54. Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek, 999/Lat.rec.40. Permalink: http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11068683-2. 113
3.8 Peter Paul Rubens, *Medea Fleeing in Her Chariot*, c. 1601, pen and ink. Credit: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (inv. MB 5001 PK). Photograph: Studio Tromp, Rotterdam. 114
3.9 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Dido*, 1600–03, pen and brown ink on paper, 95.3 × 115 mm. Bequest of Helen Johnson Chase (Mrs. Stanley P.) (inv. 1958.67). Credit: Bowdoin College Museum of Art, ME; www.bowdoin.edu/art-museum/. 117
3.10 *The Death of Niobe's Children*, Roman Sarcophagus relief, second century CE, marble. Venice, National Archaeological Museum (inv. 24). © Archivio fotografico del Polo Museale del Veneto, su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo. 122
3.11 Peter Paul Rubens, *Three Sketches for Medea and Her Children* (detail), c. 1600–04, pen and brown ink. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (inv. 84.GA.959, verso). Credit: Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program. 123
3.12 Peter Paul Rubens, *Battle of Lapiths and Centaurs*, black chalk, grey wash, heightened with white, on grey paper, 240 × 346 mm. Credit: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (inv. V 7 recto PK). Loan Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen Foundation (Collection Koenigs). Photograph: Studio Buitenhof, The Hague. 125
3.13 Peter Paul Rubens, *Study of a Dancing Maenad*, engraved by Pierre Aveline, in Rubens/Jombert, *La Théorie de la Figure Humaine* (Paris, 1773), pl. XX (84-B21157). Credit: Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. 127
3.14 School of Raphael, *Massacre of the Innocents* (detail), c. 1524–31, tapestry. Gallery of the Tapestries, Vatican Museums, Vatican State. Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY. 130
3.15 Peter Paul Rubens, *Study of the Laocoön and His Sons*, c. 1601, black chalk with white heightening and bistre wash, 475 × 475 mm. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana (BA Shelfmark; F 249 inf. n. 4, p. 9). Credit: © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana – Milano/De Agostini Picture Library. 133
3.16 Willem Panneels (after Rubens), *Laocoön's Head in Two Positions*, c. 1628, black and red chalk and pen and ink, 177 × 276 mm. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen (inv. KKSgb4823). Photo: SMK Foto. 134

3.17 Charles Le Brun, *Expression Studies for Pain* (*La Douleur de l'esprit*), black chalk on yellowed white paper, 236 × 184 mm. Credit: Paris, Musée du Louvre (inv. 28321 f. 26 recto). Photo: Michèle Bellot © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY. 136

3.18 Otto van Veen, *The Ages of Man*, in *Quinti Horatii Flacci Emblemata, imaginibus . . . Illustrata* (Antwerp, 1607), p. 207. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Shelfmark: 1133495 Res/4 A.lat.a. 249. Permalink: http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10872025-9 BSB. 144

4.1 Peter Paul Rubens, *Study of a Nude Man on His Back* (*Prometheus*), c. 1610, black chalk with white heightening, 550 × 426 mm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (inv. 20207-recto). Photo: Christophe Chavan © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY. 165

4.2 Peter Paul Rubens, *Study of a Crouched Man, Lifting a Heavy Object*, c. 1609–15, black chalk with white heightening. Credit: Paris, Musée du Louvre (inv. 20218). Photo: Michèle Bellot © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY. 166

4.3 Peter Paul Rubens, *Study for the Figure of Christ on the Cross*, black chalk with white heightening, c. 1610–15, 527 × 370 mm. British Museum, London (inv. PD Oo,9.26). © The Trustees of the British Museum. 167

4.4 Jacob Adriaensz. Backer, *Seated Female Nude* (*Study for Venus*), c. 1650, black and white chalk on blue antique paper, 323 × 232 mm. Credit: The Maida and George Abrams Collection, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, Gift of George S. Abrams in appreciation of William Robinson's services as Curator of Drawings, 1988–2013, 2013.170. Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College. 168

4.5 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek*, 1615–18, oil on wood transferred to canvas, 201 × 246 cm. Credit: Musée des Beaux-Arts, Caen, France/Bridgeman Images. 170

4.6 Peter Paul Rubens, *Study of Two Half-Naked Men* (*Study for the Martyrdom of St. Lauretius*), black chalk, 445 × 540 mm. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (inv. 1925/1863). Credit: Photo: Hans Thorwid/Nationalmuseum. 173

4.7 Pier Francesco Alberti, *Accademia* (*The Painters' Studio*) in Rome, etching, c. 1615, 411 × 527 mm. (RCIN 402868; GLAHA 52161). Credit: Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow. 175

4.8 Jan Stradanus (van der Straet), *Northern Painter's Studio*, engraving, c. 1580–1605, 204 × 271 mm. British Museum, London (inv. 1948,0410.4.204). © The Trustees of the British Museum. 177

4.9 Peter Paul Rubens, *Anatomical Study of a Nude* (*Reaching Up to the Left*), c. 1606–08, pen and brown ink, brown wash and black chalk. The Thomson Collection (inv. AGOID 106856) © Art Gallery of Ontario. 180

4.10 Peter Paul Rubens, *Samson and Delilah*, c. 1609–10, oil on panel, 185 × 205 cm (inv. NG6461). National Gallery, London. © National Gallery, London/Art Resource, NY. 184

4.11 *The Farnese Hercules*, third century CE, marble. Credit: Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, Italy. Mondadori Portfolio/ Electa/Sergio Anelli/Bridgeman Images. 189
4.12 Willem Panneels, *Study after the Wrestlers*, 1628–30, red chalk. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen (inv. KKSGB 7551). Photo: SMK Foto. 191
4.13 *Wrestlers*, third c. BCE, Roman copy after a Greek original, marble. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi © 2016. Photo: Scala, Florence – courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali. 192
4.14 Pierre Aveline, after Rubens, *Studies of Figures Pushing and Pulling after Leonardo*, in Rubens/Jombert, *La Théorie de la Figure Humaine* (Paris, 1773), pl. XVIII (84-B21157). Credit: Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. 193
4.15 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Drunken Silenus*, early seventeenth century, black chalk on paper, 410 × 256 mm. London, British Museum (inv. T,12.58). © The Trustees of the British Museum. 196
4.16 Pierre Aveline, after Rubens, *Studies of the Laocoön, Hercules and Atlas*, in Rubens/Jombert, *La Théorie de la Figure Humaine* (Paris, 1773), pl. XXIV (84-B21157). Credit: Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. 197
4.17 After Rubens, *Study from the MS Johnson Pocketbook of Rubens* (*Elements of the Human Figure*), fol. 75r, seventeenth century (MS.1978.PG.1). Credit: The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, London. 199
4.18 Peter Paul Rubens, *Head of the Farnese Hercules* (recto), c. 1600–08, black and white chalk on grey paper, 363 × 245 mm (D.1978.PG.53). Credit: The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, London. 204
4.19 After Rubens, *Study from the MS Johnson Pocketbook of Rubens* (*Cubic Demonstration of a Robust Man*), fol. 57r, seventeenth century, pen and ink (MS.1978.PG.1.057). Credit: The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, London. 207
4.20 *Belvedere Torso*, first century BCE, marble, 156.5 cm high. Rome, Vatican Museums, Museo Pio-Clementino (inv. 1192). Credit: © 2016. Photo Scala, Florence. 209
4.21 After Peter Paul Rubens, *Study from the MS Johnson Pocketbook of Rubens* (*Study of Male Torso*, three-quarter view), MS Johnson, fol. 47r, seventeenth century, pen and ink (MS.1978.PG.1). Credit: The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, London. 212
4.22 Michelangelo, *Seated Young Man and Two Right Arms*, 1510–11, red chalk, heightened with white, over traces of stylus underdrawing, 27.2 × 19.2 cm (inv. 120r). Credit: Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina. 213
4.23 After Peter Paul Rubens, *Two Views of the Torso Belvedere*, early seventeenth century, pen and brown ink, 228 × 339 mm. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen (inv. KKSGB5625). Photo: SMK Foto. 218

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Prologue

Rubens's Early Drawings and the Problem of Eclecticism

The drawings of Peter Paul Rubens (Flemish, 1577–1640), as much – or more – than those of any of his contemporaries, demonstrate an astounding commitment to stylistic variety, especially in works executed during the painter's most formative artistic period in Italy from 1600 to 1608, and in the decade following his permanent return to his hometown of Antwerp. This graphic eclecticism has long baffled connoisseurs and art historians alike. The late Rubens drawings scholar Julius Held observed the "bewildering" variety in the artist's drawing style, adding that his graphic vocabulary "is surprisingly flexible . . . A student who knew only [nineteenth-century connoisseur Giovanni] Morelli's methods would have a hard time demonstrating that one artist did all the different pieces."[1] Some early collectors of Rubens's drawings grappled with similar questions. Even discerning collectors like eighteenth-century French drawings connoisseur, P.J. Mariette (1694–1774), sometimes had to make problematic determinations of "Rubens or not Rubens," in large part due to the widely varied appearances found in drawings by Rubens and some of his circle, especially the artist's best disciple (*discepolo*), the young Anthony van Dyck (Flemish, 1599–1641).[2]

Rubens's unusually varied approach to drawing may first be witnessed in the range of subjects he drew during his Italian sojourn and after his return to Antwerp. These included figural studies, narrative compositions, and allegories drawing from mythology, Roman history, and the Old and New Testaments, copies after antique statuary, portraits, designs for title pages and triumphal monuments, and drawings of local Flemish subjects. The artist's choice and application of mediums also appear unusually diverse. There are rough sketches (*crabbelinge*) in pen and ink, more elaborated compositions in pen and wash, studies of the male nude in black chalk, portraits, and studies of contemporary Flemish landscape motifs in black and colored chalks. Some drawings include Latin or Flemish inscriptions and theoretical notes, and some are drawn on both sides. Others feature a single figure writ large on a page, and yet others, a variety of small sketches representing a similar subject on the same page. Some sheets more or less overtly reference esteemed artistic models, while others seem wholly born of Rubens's own inventions. As Held observed, the boundaries between Rubens's subjects, techniques, and use of mediums in his drawings can only be described as extremely fluid.[3]

The proof of Rubens's stylistic variety resides in the visual pudding: in the look of the drawings themselves. Paging through exhibition catalogues of the artist's graphic work, one quickly notices the striking range of manners in which he rendered his subjects, especially in sheets executed during his transformative stay in Italy and



Figure 0.1 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Entombment of Christ*, c. 1600–08, black chalk, pen and brush and brown and grey ink, brown and grey wash, corrections with white body color, 322 × 408 mm. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (inv. MB 340 PK). Photographer: Studio Buitenhof, The Hague.

after his return to Antwerp when his workshop grew to become one of the largest and most prolific in Europe. During the first two decades of the century, Rubens executed pen-and-ink emulations of other artists' works, such as his early studies of *Job's Wife* and *Judith and Holofernes* after Tobias Stimmer (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library; Plate 1),[4] and gentle, colored chalk portrait studies, as in his drawing of his first wife, *Isabella Brandt*, c. 1622 (London, British Museum; Plate 2). He also designed elaborate wash chiaroscuro studies, like the *Entombment of Christ*, c. 1600–08 (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen; Figure 0.1), and black chalk studies of the nude, including many that emulate classical sculpture, such as the well-known study of a lioness seen from the rear after the Paduan Lion, 1613–15 (London, British Museum; Plate 6).

Rubens's graphic breadth does not end there, however. In *Study of Blackthorn with Brambles and Other Plants*, c. 1615–20 (London, Courtauld Institute; Plate 3), Rubens explored optical and natural phenomena including the reflective value of light on translucent leaves through a delicate use of shading and touches of colored chalk. Other drawings, such as *Path through an Orchard*, c. 1615–18 (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum; Figure 0.2), demonstrate a rougher, more rustic treatment of local Flemish motifs in chalk. By contrast, a drawing of a female saint attributed to

Rubens, c. 1606–07 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art), evidences a much smoother facture marked by an elegant application of light washes evoking the grace (*grazia*) of his holy figure. Other drawings replete with visible corrections (*pentimenti*), such as his pen-and-ink *schizzi* of *Silenus and Aegle*, c. 1612–14 (London, Royal Collection; Figure 0.3), show his facility for compositional brainstorming, the vigor of his thinking, and his quick, spirited hand; while others, like the *Peasants Dancing*, c. 1629–32 (London, British Museum; Plate 21), demonstrate a desire to make his figures dance fluidly across the page. Still others, such as his well-known retouching of a sixteenth-century Italian drawing after Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari*, c. 1602–04 (Paris, Louvre),[5] evince Rubens's remarkable confidence in reworking, retouching, and ultimately attempting to improve upon the works of some of the finest models of the recent past.[6] Executed with an eclectic hand and a flexible approach to both subjects and underlying models, Rubens's early drawings collectively demonstrate the extraordinary range and breadth of his graphic approach, especially during and in the wake of his Roman period.

Moreover, Rubens further extended his stylistic flexibility *within the space of individual drawings*, a point also demonstrated in the two drawings at the heart of this study. The first example is the early pen-and-ink *Three Sketches for Medea and Her Children*, c. 1600–04 (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum; Plate 15), with its



Figure 0.2 Peter Paul Rubens, *Path through an Orchard*, c. 1615–18, pen and ink with wash and some black chalk, 312 × 403 mm (inv. 2178). Credit: Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, UK/Bridgeman Images.



Figure 0.3 Peter Paul Rubens, *Silenus and Aegle with Other Studies*, c. 1612–14, pen and ink. London, Royal Collection. Credit: Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2016/Bridgeman Images.

tight, precise forms at left, executed in often slow, uninterrupted contours with a heavily loaded quill. These forms are contrasted with a quicker and looser, more abstracted style at right. Curiously, Rubens left much of the page at right blank, except for a faint Latin inscription executed in black and red chalk, hovering at the drawing's upper right margin, and a few dots of ink where Rubens unloaded his pen. By contrast, Rubens's black chalk *Kneeling Man*, c. 1609 (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen; Plate 30), fills the entire sheet, exhibiting both sure, gently twisting lines found in the figure's lower leg and obvious corrections in black chalk and white highlighting found especially in the figure's left arm and hip. In another example, *Fallen Tree with Brambles*, c. 1615–20 (Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire Collection; inv. 1008) – a drawing by Rubens or perhaps Rubens's landscape collaborator, Van Dyck, under his former master's artistic sway[7] – evidences both subtle under-drawing in black and colored chalks, as well as allusive pools of watercolor at left, and an unusually heavy flourish of pen and ink at bottom. A late chalk drawing entitled *Trees Reflected in Water at Sunset*, c. 1635 (London, British Museum; inv. Gg.2–229) shows Rubens, inspired by Leonardo, capturing optical effects by delineating trees in the water in a sketchier, more distilled manner than the trees they are meant to reflect.

In his embrace of stylistic diversity across and within individual drawings, it would appear that Rubens rejected an easily recognizable "signature style" early on in his drawing and painting practice, an assertion supported by the Rubensian, eclectic style also adopted by the young Van Dyck while working in Rubens's Antwerp studio.[8] Indeed, the project of understanding Rubens's motivations in adopting a copious approach to drawing is complicated by his participation in a humanist, artistic milieu that prized originality and the discrimination of individual artistic manners. While a student of early modern drawings might quickly recognize a drawing by Leonardo, Michelangelo, Rembrandt, or Guercino – all internationally renowned humanist

artists who similarly prized drawing, yet who also fostered individual graphic styles or *maniera* – recognizing a Rubens drawing with any certainty can be both a connoisseurially fraught and art historically confounding business. Executed in an age when questions of style mattered deeply in humanist circles, and when signature graphic styles increasingly held the potential to signal authorial presence and the rising status of an original artist or thinker, Rubens's unusually varied approach also highlights critical questions as to where Rubens and his patrons located his own masterly originality and "hand" in his drawings and paintings.

Various notations in Rubens's personal letters and contracts stipulating that certain paintings were "original," "by my own hand," and "entirely retouched by my hand" indicate that Rubens cared sorely about issues of originality and whether others recognized his individual, masterly presence in his works.[9] In a 1621 letter to the English diplomat William Trumbull (c. 1575–1635), Rubens described his large-scale *Lion Hunt* painting, 1621 (Munich, Alte Pinakothek), that he was executing for the English ambassador to Brussels, Sir John Digby, as "all to be done by my own hand, without a single admixture of anyone else's work."[10] His authorship concerns seem to have been especially acute in cases where collaborators or disciples had a prominent hand in their execution.[11] In another instance recounted in an earlier letter dated April 28, 1618 to Sir Dudley Carleton (1573–1632), Rubens paradoxically listed his *Prometheus*, c. 1612 (Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art), as an "Original" canvas "by my hand," despite leaving the memorable eagle to his Flemish collaborator and still life specialist, Frans Snyders (1579–1657).[12] His best patrons and collectors also seemed to have cared deeply about seeing Rubens's artistic presence in his works. In his contract for the extensive Marie de' Medici cycle of history paintings (Paris, Louvre) originally commissioned for the royal Palais du Luxembourg in Paris, Rubens promised to "make, perfect and paint each and every one of the figures with his own hand,"[13] despite the essential collaborative nature of this substantial enterprise. According to Arnout Balis, early modern connoisseurs and patrons valued, and often demanded, something by "the master's [Rubens's] own hand."[14]

Humanists and new art lovers (*liefhebbers*) in Rubens's circle similarly valued his unique authorial hand, especially in drawing. In a letter to a mutual colleague, Rubens's close antiquarian friend Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (French, 1580–1637) expressed considerable pleasure that Rubens promised to draw cameos of Augustus and Tiberius for him from his own hand (*di sua mano*).[15] According to one firsthand account, Rubens's hand in preliminary drawings and retouches accounted for one of the primary reasons for his artistic and financial success. Recalling his visit to Rubens's studio on his tour of the Lowlands in 1621, a young Danish medical student, Otto Sperling (1602–73), recounted years later:

> A good number of young painters were each occupied on a different work, for which Mr. Rubens had provided a chalk drawing with touches of color here and there. The young men had to work these up fully in paint until finally Mr. Rubens would add the last touches with the brush and colors. *All this is considered as Rubens' work*; thus he gained a large fortuna, and kings and princes have heaped gifts and jewels upon him [*my emphasis*].[16]

This all begs an important question: why would Rubens, who claimed to have placed the highest premium on viewer recognition of his hand in a work of art, have

embraced an eclectic practice of drawing that might have jeopardized this interest? For an erudite painter with a highly developed instinct for business and a desire, in his words, "to be confused with no other artist," the rationale for cultivating a stylistically eclectic approach in an age of "signature" drawing styles must have been deeply compelling.

The difficulties of understanding the nature of Rubens's commitment to graphic eclecticism are further compounded by the preparatory function that drawings are presumed to have played in the creation of larger works, including paintings, tapestries, and book illustrations in early modern Flemish studios, not least in Rubens's own burgeoning Antwerp workshop. Highlighting the functional utility of drawings for Rubens's larger enterprise, Julius Held observed in his landmark *Rubens, Selected Drawings* (1959) catalogue: "No matter how much we may admire today the brilliance of his oil-sketches or the beauty and variety of his drawings, we ought to realize that these works were almost never produced as ends in themselves, but as preparations for the more finished products."[17] Held also noted Rubens's characteristic method of grouping and storing drawings in his studio by what he called "Type and Technique," including preparatory sketches for painted compositions, studies from models and portraits, landscapes, designs for sculptures, engravings and woodcuts, and copies and retouches by Rubens after other masters, rather than by specific commission or chronology.[18] Indeed, variations in early modern Flemish drawings, including those by Rubens and his collaborators, are still often linked in modern scholarship to how far down the creative path the artist presumably traveled from "first thought" to more "finished" products such as paintings, tapestries, and book illustrations, and sometimes to their intended viewers (e.g., workshop collaborator, humanist friend, patron, etc.).[19]

This largely pragmatic understanding of drawings' preparatory functions, and the role that graphic style may have played in signaling them, however, does not answer all of the questions raised by the sheets' unusually varied appearance. Nor does it account for the presence of other drawings in the artist's graphic oeuvre for which no related paintings, tapestries, engravings, or book illustrations are known (especially his retouched drawings and "independent" drawings),[20] nor for recent observations that Rubens likely stored many of his drawings in folios in his upstairs private studio by *theme* instead of by commission.[21]

As Held seems to have eventually recognized, when Rubens's individual drawings are subjected to close scrutiny, many fall outside of the broad groupings by type and technique, as do many features within individual sheets.[22] For instance, Rubens sometimes handled drawings in the same genre, seemingly at similar points in the creative process, in very different ways. Two preliminary drawings, executed around the same time, and both with rustic Flemish subjects, briefly serve to illustrate this point. On the one hand, in the London Courtauld Institute's *Study of Blackthorn with Brambles and Other Plants* (Plate 3), Rubens empirically described a single brambles branch and the hue of its berries with exquisite subtlety through a light rendering of black and colored chalk. By contrast, in *A Man Threshing Beside a Wagon*, 1615–17 (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum; Plate 4), Rubens applied his black and colored chalks for his Flemish peasant subjects more quickly and roughly, focusing instead on a rapid up-and-down movement of the man's working arm wielding a thrashing stick. While both drawings descend from the tradition of northern landscape illustration, and both drawings include motifs that Rubens later

used as key features in his new genre of Flemish landscape painting, c. 1617–20, the techniques, mediums, and effects of the drawings appear surprisingly at odds. Indeed, the sheets register significant variations in both speed and method of execution, relative finish, and underlying intent despite what seems to be a similar chronological position in the creative process. In these examples, internal *expressive* choices – in this case, in part located in Rubens's interest in seemingly descriptive versus narrative modes of drawing, respectively – played a key role in his design intentions.

If subject and medium classifications often fail to account fully for formal distinctions in the sheets, the drawings' frequent placement on an imagined continuum of perceived finish toward what Held called their "final pictorial realization" in paintings remains equally problematic. For one, the level of so-called finish in related drawings in Rubens's workshop drawings often fails to correspond with order of execution. For example, Rubens elaborated his *Man in Korean Costume*, c. 1617 (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum; Plate 40), with many fine external and interior contour lines and selective touches of colored chalk, while the slightly later, related *Nicolas Trigault in Chinese Costume*, c. 1617 (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library; Figure 0.4), now widely attributed to Van Dyck drawing in a Rubensian mode, appears in a much looser and sketchier manner.[23] The related pair stylistically challenge traditional definitions of level of finish: what would commonly be considered a less-finished drawing was apparently drawn *after* Rubens's more "finished" sheet. In this case, pedagogical reasons may in part account for the difference; after all, Rubens's students, including Willem Panneels (Flemish, c. 1600-after 1632), seem to have valued a good contour drawing (*omtreck*) drawn after their master.[24]

However, other securely attributed drawings by Rubens challenge presumed chronologies related to level of so-called finish *within the space of the same sheet*, suggesting other considerations. In a number of drawings, Rubens executed what seem to be relatively simple contour drawings *after* a series of more complicated compositional studies of similar theme. For example, in his study of *Venus Lamenting Adonis*, c. 1608–12 (Washington, National Gallery of Art; Plate 14), his self-emulative sketches often increasingly tend towards graphic *condensation* instead of elaboration. The confident graphic distillation that appears near the upper right margin of this sheet – a feature seen in other drawings from this period as well – challenges the easier conclusion that Rubens's compositions necessarily became more figurally complex or refined the longer or more often he drew a subject.[25] In a similar vein, the final versions of Rubens's paintings often appear compositionally simpler, and contain fewer figures, than the preparatory oil sketches.[26] One eighteenth-century Rubens drawings collector is even said to have claimed that the Flemish draftsman evidenced little taste for completing his drawings[27] – a report that places many of his drawings in the rhetorical lineage of Leonardo da Vinci's and Raphael's characteristic *non-finito* sketches that often belie their formal and conceptual complexity. Graphically varied and often seemingly visually simple or unfinished, Rubens's drawings, like his predecessors', however often betray themselves to the patient eye as highly complex works with rich conceptual implications worthy of being unearthed and visually savored.

Justus Müller Hofstede first highlighted the crucial role that such theoretical and rhetorical considerations played in Rubens's graphic aims, including in the inscribed, two-sided theoretical sheet with studies after Raphael and Holbein in Berlin (Kupferstichkabinett; Plate 13); a sheet that like Rubens's geometrically informed studies of Hercules in the MS Johnson (London, Courtauld Institute Galleries; Plates



Figure 0.4 Anthony van Dyck (formerly attributed to Rubens), *The Jesuit Nicolas Trigault in Chinese Costume*, c. 1617, black and green chalk on paper, 424 × 248 mm. Credit: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, III, 179. Purchased by Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913) in 1909. Photograph: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

35 and 36) is linked to Rubens's early explorations into the human figure and the passions of the soul in his lost theoretical Pocketbook.[28] A variety of other early drawings quickly point to rhetorical concerns as well. In Rubens's landscape and portrait drawings of living subjects, such as his early study of his first wife, *Isabella Brandt* (Plate 2), he often included enlivening touches of color: in this case, touches of red (*rubur*) on the cheeks and lips, likely indicative of a sanguine humour and the blood's healthy circulation. In other drawings, the rapidity and form of his marks seem to reinforce intended meanings. In the British Museum study of *Peasants Dancing*, c. 1629–32 (Plate 21), Rubens's quick, serialized style was almost certainly meant to match the quick movement and freedom of his subjects: Flemish couples at a *kermesse* twirling in characteristic abandon. By contrast, his red chalk drawing of a strangely animated Hercules, c. 1615–21 (London, British Museum; Plate 22), seems to move more ploddingly, emphasizing the heavy, melancholic demeanor of its Hellenistic model, the Farnese Hercules.[29] Other classicizing drawings highlight Rubens's concern with rendering mythical and historical narratives in a style befitting Roman bas-relief sculpture, focusing on purely figural compositions, sculptural outline, and attached shadows that achieved an antique "effect" or in Howard Rodee's words, "simulate[d] accuracy."[30]

Still, while many scholars have richly explored individual moments when Rubens drew with conceptual or rhetorical concerns in mind, no sustained study has yet explored these concerns in light of Rubens's larger approach to drawing, nor linked them to his broader artistic concerns and philosophical ambitions during and after his formative Italian period. To further account for Rubens's curious eclecticism in drawing, and by extension, to draw closer attention to the extraordinary flexibility – and especially, the poetic thrust – of Rubens's drawings, particularly c. 1600–20, it is first imperative to loosen the definition of "preparatory function" to consider the foundational, conceptual, and formal work of Rubens's drawings that may, or may not, have been directly related to other works. In other words, it pays to consider the drawings slowly and seriously on their own terms. As Edward Wouk observed of the designs of the late sixteenth-century Flemish Romanist painter Frans Floris (c. 1519–1570), a more expansive approach to drawing and its functions in the Low Countries is warranted, particularly in treating drawing as a multifaceted practice in which *disegno* functioned "as an aid to recollection, a medium of artistic inspiration, a means of artistic expression, and a workshop implement."[31] In this more expansive framework, variation in graphic style could also be linked to variation in intended meanings and rhetorical effects: that is, subject to the substantial range of Rubens's prodigious intellect and conceptual, visual vocabulary. It further opens the rich possibility of considering Rubens's drawings less as direct preparatory studies in a purely formal sense, and more as models of *disegno* – that is, as manifestations of physical *and* mental design – that could be stored, reused, and altered at will, and as important sites of artistic exploration and investigation in accordance with the evolving and more expansive use of drawings in contemporary humanist workshops.

As the two demonstrative case studies in this volume also show, it further pays to examine the drawings for their underlying *graphic ideas* and the *eclectic, poetic models* that informed them. The artist's humanist commitments to painting, drawing, and *ut pictura poesis* further demand that we take them seriously on this front.[32] When Giorgio Vasari (1511–74) famously hailed *disegno* as the mother of painting, he almost certainly implied a preparatory role for drawing that encapsulated both

its formal *and* conceptual foundations. If we take Rubens's humanist privileging of invention (*inventio*) over execution (*executio*) and the foundational role of drawing as *disegno* seriously – and strong evidence suggests we should – then truly preparatory drawings should offer *a priori* evidence, and crucial interpretative clues, to the subsequent paintings' meanings, not vice versa. For it was in the mind and in the essential intellectual act of mental design (*disegno interno*) that preceded the manual act of physical drawing (*disegno esterno*) where Rubens arguably believed his "own hand" most resided; for the erudite Rubens, mental and intellectual pursuits always trumped manual and skilled ones. As material signifiers of the master's intellect and original ideas, drawings provided a justification for his paintings, collaborative or not, to be considered both as part of his own signature style and "by his own hand." A striking merger of idea and execution in drawing, fueled by a copious emulation of esteemed models, was arguably a critical part of his plan for "being confused with no other artist" all along. It is in this context that this study explores Rubens's approach to drawing in Rome and his early Antwerp years, and links them to broader contemporary, philosophical, and rhetorical concerns surrounding the nature and functions of classically inspired eloquence in and around Antwerp, particularly in the circles of the Flemish philologist and humanist scholar Justus Lipsius (1547–1606).

This all goes to suggest that Rubens's signature style was arguably located precisely in the eclecticism that first begs the question, and ultimately in eloquent inventions drawn from his prodigiously active mind. As manifestations of the humanist artist's original thoughts, Rubens's formative drawings often bear the eclectic, signature style of his perfectly inimitable mind and following hand, *all in a locus that can only be considered preparatory to his larger practice in the deepest, most profound sense*. As we will soon see, the varied look of Rubens's early drawings likely deeply mattered to the artist and his humanist circle. First, though, it is necessary to take the drawings – and equally, the artist's humanist ambitions for eloquent drawing, from the earliest moments when he fashioned his mature, newly classicizing style in Italy – as seriously as did Rubens, his humanist teachers, and the early modern theorists and antiquarians who helped pave his way.

Notes

1 Julius S. Held, *Rubens, Selected Drawings. With an Introduction and a Critical Catalogue*, rev. ed. (Mt. Kisco, New York: Moyer Bell Ltd., 1986), 10, and 28.
2 On the early confusion of "Rubens or not Rubens," ibid.; and John Rupert Martin, ed., *Rubens Before 1620* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 123. On the early drawings of Van Dyck and their relationship to Rubens's works, see especially Horst Vey, *Die Zeichnungen Anton van Dycks* (Brussels: Arcade, 1962); Michael Jaffé, ed., *Van Dyck's Antwerp Sketchbook*, 2 vols. (London: Macdonald Press, 1966); Christopher Brown, *The Drawings of Anthony van Dyck*, exh. cat. (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1991); Roger Baetjens et al., *Rubens, Jordaens, Van Dyck and their Circle: Flemish Master Drawings from the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen*, exh. cat. (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 2001); and Anne-Marie Logan, "Anthony van Dyck: His Early Drawings during the First Antwerp Period," in *The Young Van Dyck*, eds. Alejandro Vergara and Friso Lammertse, exh. cat. (London/New York: Thames & Hudson, 2013), 75–91.
3 Julius Held, *Rubens, Selected Drawings* (London: Phaidon Press, 1959), vol. 1, 7.
4 Stimmer's woodcut models in *Neue Künstliche Figuren Biblischer Historien* (Basel, 1576) are illustrated in Anne-Marie Logan (in collaboration with Michiel C. Plomp), *Peter Paul*

Rubens: The Drawings, exh. cat. (New York/New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art/ Yale University Press, 2005), 62–63, figs. 33–34.

5 Département des Arts Graphiques; inv. 20271 recto.

6 For Rubens's Louvre retouched Anghiari sheet (inv. 20271, recto), see *Leonardo da Vinci: Master Draftsman*, eds. Carmen Bambach, Rachel Stern, and Alison Manges, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 671–75, no. 135, ill. On the retouched drawings, see Jeremy Wood, "'Damaged by Time and Rubens': Rubens's Restorations and Retouchings," *Apollo* 142, no. 406 (December 1995): 16–23; and Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann and Anne-Marie Logan, "Dessins de Rubens," *Revue de l'Art* 40 (1978): 89–99.

7 Martin Royalton-Kisch first proposed changing the long-accepted Rubens attribution to Van Dyck. *The Light of Nature, Landscape Drawings and Watercolours by Van Dyck and his Contemporaries*, exh. cat. (London: British Museum Press, 1999), 64–65, no. 1. For a chapter-long case study of this drawing, attributed to Rubens, along the rhetorical lines of the two demonstrative studies presented in this volume (Chapters 3–4), see Catherine H. Lusheck, "Rubens's Graphic Eclecticism: Style, Eloquence and the Matter of Drawing, circa 1600–1620" (PhD diss., University of California Berkeley, 2000), 186–248. I also presented a revised and condensed version of this case study in a paper, "With His Back to Nature: The Rhetoric of Landscape in Rubens's Drawing of a Fallen Tree with Brambles, ca. 1615–17," at the annual meeting of the College Art Association ("European Drawings, 1400–1900" chaired by Lee Hendrix) at the Getty Museum in Los Angeles on February 25, 2009.

8 On the young Van Dyck and the stylistic relationship of his work to Rubens's, see especially Vergara and Lammertse, eds., *The Young Van Dyc*k; Horst Vey et al., *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings,* published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2004); Hans Vlieghe, *Van Dyck 1599–1999: Conjectures and Refutations*, Museums at the Crossroads Series (Turnhout: Brepols Press, 2001); Christopher Brown and Hans Vlieghe, *Anthony Van Dyck, 1599–1641*, exh. cat. (London: Royal Academy Publications, 1999); and Alan McNairn, *The Young Van Dyck*, exh. cat. (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1980).

9 In Rubens's terms, their execution fell into three categories: those that were "original" or "entirely by my hand," those "begun by my disciples," and those "entirely retouched by my hand." Susan J. Barnes, "The Young Van Dyck and Rubens," in *Anthony van Dyck*, ed. Arthur J. Wheelock, Jr. et al., exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1990), 18.

10 Rubens to William Trumbull, 13 September 1621, in *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens* , ed. and trans. Ruth S. Magurn (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1955), no. 46. See also Max Rooses and Charles Ruelens, *Codex Diplomaticus Rubenianus. Correspondence de Rubens et Documents Epistolaires Concernant Sa Vie et Ses Oeuvres* (hereafter cited as *CDR*), vol. 2 (Antwerp, 1898), no. 225; and David Rosand, "Rubens's Munich *Lion Hunt*: Its Sources and Significance," *Art Bulletin* 51, no. 1 (March 1969): 29 and under n. 4.

11 On Rubens's collaborative studio, see Leo van Puyvelde, "L'atelier et les collaborateurs de Rubens," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 36 (1949): 221–50; Arnout Balis, "'*Fatto da un mio discepolo*': Rubens's Studio Practices Reviewed," in *Rubens and his Workshop: The Flight of Lot and his Family from Sodom*, ed. T. Nakamura (Tokyo: National Museum of Western Art, 1994), 97–127; and Hans Vlieghe, "Rubens's Atelier and History Painting in Flanders: A Review of the Evidence," in *The Age of Rubens*, ed. Peter Sutton, exh. cat. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1993), 153–70.

12 Rubens to Dudley Carleton, 28 April 1618, in Magurn, *Letters*, no. 28.

13 Arnout Balis, "Rubens and his Studio: Defining the Problem," in *Rubens: Genius at Work*, ed. Joost Vander Auwera (Brussels: Royal Museum of Fine Arts, 2008), 36 and under n. 90.

14 Ibid.

15 Nicolas Fabri de Peiresc to Aleandro, 11 January 1622: "Habbiamo qui il Sigr Pietro Paulo Rubens, pittore eccellentis, il quale mi ha promesso di dissegnare di sua mano i camei di Augusto et Tiberio," as cited in Marjon van der Meulen, *Petrus Paulus Rubens Antiquarius:*

Collector and Copyist of Antique Gems, PhD diss., University of Utrecht (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto, 1975), 36.

16 Rooses and Ruelens, *CDR*, vol. 2, 156. For Sperling's account, see Anne-Marie Logan, "Rubens as a Teacher: 'He may teach his art to his students and others to his liking,'" in *In His Milieu: Essays on Netherlandish Art in Memory of John Michael Montias*, eds. Amy Golahny, Mia M. Mochizuki, and Lisa Vergara (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 250–51.

17 Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1959, vol. 1, 15.

18 Held included a section of plates for his types and techniques in the second volume of his 1959 catalogue. For a similar approach, see Ludwig Burchard and R.A. d'Hulst, *Rubens Drawings*, 2 vols., Monographs of the National Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten van de XVIde en XVIIde Eeuw, vol. 1 (Brussels: Arcade Press, 1963), 2.

19 For an example of such a functional/workshop viewpoint, see Anne-Marie Logan, *Flemish Drawings in the Age of Rubens: Selected Drawings from American Collections*, exh. cat. (Wellesley, MA: Davis Museum and Cultural Center, Wellesley College, 1993), 27.

20 See, for example, Rubens's independent "Senecan" sheets: Frances Huemer, *Rubens and the Roman Circle: Studies of the First Decade*, Garland Reference Library of the Humanities (New York: Garland Publishing Co., 1996), 67–72.

21 Kristin Lohse Belkin, *Rubens. Copies and Adaptions from Renaissance and Later Artists: German and Netherlandish Artists*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard (hereafter cited as CRLB), pt. 26, no. 1, vol. 1 (London: Harvey Miller, 2009), 38–39.

22 Held revised his catalogue for the second edition (1986), abandoning his functional groupings in favor of rearranging his entries by chronology.

23 For the most recent discussion of the sheets, see *Looking East: Rubens's Encounter with Asia*, ed. Stephanie Schrader (with contributions by Burglind Jungmann et al.), exh. cat. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2013). For the Morgan drawing, see also Logan, *The Drawings*, 272, under cat. no. 98; Felice Stampfle et al., *Netherlandish Drawings of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries and Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Princeton: Princeton University Press: 1991), no. 320, ill.; and Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1959, vol. 1, under no. 105.

24 Panneels, who copied many of Rubens's figural works, prided himself on his contour drawings. Logan, "Rubens as a Teacher," 255.

25 Other example of Rubens's use of what I argue are conceptually motivated "graphic distillations" may be found in his drawing of *Silenus and Aegle* reproduced in this volume, his *Studies after Raphael and Holbein* in Berlin, his scene of *Three Peasants after Bruegel*, before 1600 in Chatsworth, his *Battle of the Amazons*, c. 1600–02 (London, British Museum), and his *Study of Niobe* in Moscow, among other sheets. See Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, figs. 4, 8, 9, 13, and 81. These contour drawings are related, I argue, to Rubens's interest in *Idea* and distilling a concept to its most condensed form, prompted by his interest in Lipsius and Seneca. For more on this subject, see Chapter 2, in this volume.

26 Julius S. Held, *The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens: A Critical Catalogue*, vol. 1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 4.

27 Michiel Plomp attributed this point (originally reported by eighteenth-century Dutch artist Jacob de Wit, who owned approximately 75 Rubens drawings) to Antoine Joseph Dézallier d'Argenville. Michiel C. Plomp, "Collecting Rubens's Drawings," in Logan, *The Drawings*, 52–53.

28 For Müller Hofstede's discussion of the Berlin sheet and its thematic and rhetorical basis, "Rubens und die Kunstlehre des Cinquecento. Zur Deutung eines theoretischen Skizzenblattes im Berliner Kabinett," in *Peter Paul Rubens 1577–1640: Katalog I. Rubens in Italien. Gemälde, Ölskizzen, Zeichnungen*, exh. cat. (Cologne: Wallraf-Richartz-Museums, 1977), 59–61; and Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, no. 7, 66–67.

29 Huemer, *Rubens and the Roman Circle*, 71–72. For more on Rubens's Pocketbook and the MS Johnson, see Chapters 1 and 4, in this volume.

30 For example, Elizabeth McGrath observed that "the whole composition" of the workshop drawing of *Alexander with the Thunderbolt*, copied after Rubens's original design (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst), "is formulated in a flat relief-style." Elizabeth

McGrath, "The Painted Decoration of Rubens's House," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41 (1978): 252–53, under n. 32, and fig. 30b. For Rubens's interest in achieving an antique "effect" even in some cases in which he was not documenting classical sources, see Howard D. Rodee, "Rubens' Treatment of Antique Armor," *Art Bulletin* 44, no. 3 (1967): 227.

31 Edward H. Wouk, "Frans Floris and *Disegno*. A Return to the Question," *ARS* 42, no.1 (2009): 61.

32 On the importance of *Idea* and *disegno* for Flemish humanist workshops including Rubens's, see especially Hans Vlieghe, Arnout Balis, and Carl Van de Velde, eds., *Concept, Design, and Execution in Flemish Painting (1550–1700)* (Turnhout: Brepols Press, 2000).

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Part I

Drawing in Context

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1 Setting the Stage

Privileging Eloquent *Disegno* in Rubens's Early Drawings

Taking Rubens's Drawings Seriously

In the late allegorical painting critiquing the deleterious effects of the Thirty Years War (1618–48), the so-called *Horrors of War*, c. 1638 (London, National Gallery; Plate 5), Flemish artist Peter Paul Rubens curiously elected to insert a painted drawing – not a painting, nor a tapestry, nor a print – directly under Mars's destructive feet. Set firmly alongside other contemporary markers of humanist knowledge, including a book and a lute, and situated precisely at the bottom center of the painting, this rendering of a drawing of *The Three Graces* stands as a rhetorical demonstration (*dimostrazione*) of how seriously Rubens took drawing and the practice of drawing in his larger artistic enterprise. As a key marker of the liberal arts in the painting, the drawing almost certainly embodied for Rubens the intellectual and cultural superiority – and indeed, the perceived grace (*grazia*) – of his humanist *milieu*. Through a striking moment of rhetorical antithesis, it represented the very real threat to peace and *cultura* exemplified in his allegory featuring Mars's and Alecto's furious rampage, poor Europa's grief, and the wide open door of Janus's temple.[1] For Rubens, the destructive trampling (desecration?) of what may look to modern eyes like the image of a relatively insignificant work on paper clearly held the rhetorical potential to express – front and center, at the heart of painting – the artistic and social indignities and degradation suffered in war-torn Europa, including Flanders which suffered great losses to population and prosperity as a result of the Dutch Revolt.[2] As a sign of the persistence and grace of humanist culture in spite of incredible devastation, the proud drawing – and by extension, the conceptual basis of painting for which it synecdochally stands – signaled the crucial role that a substantive, conceptually bound humanist art might play in helping to renew Europe's strength and prosperity. As Philipp Fehl observed, "It takes Minerva, the armed goddess of statecraft," – and not incidentally, Wisdom too – "to ward off Mars so that the arts may flourish in a climate of peace and plenty."[3] For drawing and painting, along with art, diplomacy, philosophy, and politics, were all arguably inextricably linked in Rubens's mind, with his ambitions for one inflecting his ambitions for the others. In a similar vein, Rubens's earlier *Minerva Protecting Pax from Mars* (*Peace and War*), 1629–30 (London, National Gallery; Figure 1.1), also painted during the long European conflict, allegorically encapsulates the rich, cornucopian benefits to Flanders and Europa that Rubens believed accompanied a peaceful and well-governed Europe.

Good reasons abound to take Rubens's artistic and even social ambitions for drawing in this context seriously, not least of which is a truly vast body of scholarship highlighting Rubens's training and self-fashioning as a prodigious and erudite



Figure 1.1 Peter Paul Rubens, *Minerva Protecting Pax from Mars* (*Peace and War*), 1629–30, oil on canvas, 203.5 × 298 cm. Presented by the Duke of Sutherland, 1828. London, National Gallery (inv. NG46). © National Gallery, London/Art Resource, NY.

humanist artist. Rubens was arguably *the* quintessential northern humanist artist of his age, and drawing had formed the basis of a humanist artist's training since the early Renaissance in Italy.[4] A wide range of scholars, including Justus Müller Hofstede, Wolfgang Stechow, Michael Jaffé, Elizabeth McGrath, Jeffrey Muller, Marjon van der Meulen, Ulrich Heinen, and many others, have explored the breadth and depth of Rubens's humanist training and his classical rhetorical commitments.[5] This includes his embrace of the Horatian ideal of *ut pictura poesis*, or painting as a poetic, liberal art across his artistic enterprise.[6] Trained in the northern intellectual tradition of Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536) and the Louvain philologist Justus Lipsius, and one-time pupil of Lipsius's learned friend, the *pictor doctus* Otto van Veen (Flemish, 1556–1629), Rubens remained a committed humanist artist throughout his career. As a painter and diplomat to some of the most important European courts of his age, including the Spanish governors of the Netherlands, Albert and Isabella,[7] he enjoyed an international reach in the highest court and papal circles, and was introduced to some of the period's greatest humanist thinkers through personal connections and letters, including Lipsius, J.J. Scaliger (1540–1609), Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637), Balthasar I Moretus (1574–1641), Gaspar Scioppius (1576–1649), and Franciscus Junius (1591–1677).

Testifying to his lifelong humanist commitments, contemporaries praised Rubens as much for his superior erudition and judicious choices as for his skill in painting. Fellow humanist and philologist Gaspar Scoppius wrote of Rubens as early as 1609,

"I do not know what to praise most in my friend Rubens: his mastery of painting . . . or his knowledge of all aspects of *belles lettres*, or finally, that fine judgment which inevitably attends such fascinating conversation."[8] Philippe Chifflet, chaplain to the Infanta Isabella and a humanist correspondent of Rubens and his friend Balthasar Moretus, eulogized Rubens as "the most learned painter in the world."[9] This may not have been an exaggeration. According to seventeenth-century French theoretician and biographer Roger de Piles (1635–1709), the painter knew at least six, and likely seven, languages, including Latin, Greek, Italian, French, Spanish, Flemish, and probably English.[10] In both his art and personal letters, Rubens liberally alluded to noble, classical themes and borrowed from an unusually wide range of luminaries' works from the classical (especially Roman) world, including seminal writings by Aristotle, Quintilian, Pliny, Virgil, Ovid, Livy, Seneca the Younger, and Tacitus among many others. In one letter to his Flemish colleague Franciscus Junius, he claimed to "adore [the] very footprints of classical painters such as Apelles and Timanthes."[11] He collected and documented a wide range of antiquarian coins, sculpture, and texts and used countless works of classical and classically inspired art, often known through sculptures, engravings, and paintings he saw on his travels or collected in his studio, as emulative models for his own practice. As the proud owner of one of Flanders' largest and most impressive private humanist libraries, he collected and voraciously read an extensive range of antiquarian and Renaissance texts both in Italy and after his return to Antwerp, with many of these ideas making their way into his art.[12] Suggesting the breadth of his classical knowledge, many of the classical texts that Rubens alluded to in his art do not seem to have been represented in his library nor in his correspondence.[13] Contemporaries also noted his uncanny ability to multitask by painting, listening, and speaking all at once. In one well-known account, Rubens had someone read classical texts while he painted and dictated a letter in his workshop as a means of displaying his intellectual prowess. According to Otto Sperling who visited Rubens's studio in 1621:

> While still painting, he was having Tacitus read aloud to him, and was dictating a letter. When we kept silence so as not to disturb him with our talk, he himself began to talk to us, while still continuing to work, to listen to the reading and to dictate his letter, answering our questions and thus displaying his astonishing powers. After that he told off one of his servants to show us over every part of his splendid house, in which we were shown the Greek and Roman antiquities, which he possessed in great quantity.[14]

Much of the considerable scholarship on Rubens's humanist approach to drawing has focused on his knowledge and emulation of classical models, including ancient and classically inspired texts, gems, sculptures, paintings, and engravings, many dating back to his formative artistic period in Italy (1600–08).[15] Dominated by often recondite classically inspired and biblical *istoria* (history painting), archaeologically minded emulations after antique statuary, coins, and gems, works after esteemed masters, and especially the human figure – the primary concern of humanist artists since antiquity – Rubens's early drawings collectively betray the intellectual depth of his artistic leanings, expressed quite literally from the moments when his pen or chalk first hit paper. Renaissance approaches to imitation and emulation guided his practice.

At times, he quoted directly from Renaissance draftsmen as well as the sculptural forms of antiquity in the same spirit that contemporary humanist authors quoted Latin authors. In his *Baptism of Christ*, c. 1604 (Paris, Louvre),[16] for example, he quoted one motif (the male figure bending over) almost directly from Raphael. At other times, as in his drawing after the so-called Paduan lion (Plate 6), grounded in classical sculpture, he cleverly disguised his visual allusions, allowing for a partially recognizable relationship between image and model. This imitative approach aligned with the long-established practice of early modern humanist writers and artists dating back to Petrarch, Leon Battista Alberti, and Lorenzo Ghiberti, who also often inserted both well- and lesser-known classical allusions into their texts, personal letters, and compositions to highlight their own erudition, often for the further delectation of fellow humanist friends and scholars. In Renaissance humanist workshops, drawing and imitation of excellent models were central to both artistic training and later, to a master painter's demonstration of artistic originality and invention.[17]

Like the classical Roman artists he often emulated as a master draftsman and painter, Rubens often exploited the power of visual rhetoric to persuade viewers not only of fundamental ideas and values, but also, by extension, his own humanist, artistic superiority and exceptional erudition. As painted compositions throughout his career as diverse as the *Horrors of War* (Plate 5), The Decius Mus Cycle, the Marie de' Medici cycle (Paris, Louvre), and *Milkmaids with Cattle in a Landscape* (*The Farm at Laken*), c. 1617–18 (London, Buckingham Palace, Royal Collection Trust; Figure 1.2) suggest,



Figure 1.2 Peter Paul Rubens, *Milkmaids with Cattle in a Landscape* (*The Farm at Laken*), c. 1617–18, oil on panel, 85.9 × 127.9 cm (RCIN 405333). Picture Gallery, Buckingham Palace, London. Credit: Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2016.

some of the fundamental rhetorical weapons in his pictorial arsenal included visual metaphor, allegory, analogy, emulation, synecdoche, and antithesis, artfully conceived and judiciously applied. In this vein, for example, Mark Morford has drawn attention to the Neostoic rhetorical content of many of Rubens's early painted compositions, especially when he was most under the Lipsian sway; Lisa Rosenthal to the gendered and political rhetoric of Rubens's bodies and allegories; and Lisa Vergara to the classicizing, poetic foundations of Rubens's painted Flemish landscapes.[18] Others have examined a range of rhetorical implications in Rubens's *Miracles of Saint Ignatius* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; Plate 12) and *The Raising of the Cross* (Antwerp, Onze Lieve Vrouw; Plate 7), amongst other early altarpieces.[19] As a painter who wrote voluminously, though rarely about his art, Rubens often relied on the visual power of his art to express his meanings, leaving the discernment of his ideas, at times even consciously concealed, to their pictorial expression and the eye of discriminating humanist viewers. In one of the few instances in which Rubens wrote about his art, he explained the basic iconography of his *Horrors of War* painting to his friend Justus Sustermans. Beyond that, he suggested leaving the remainder up to his viewer's "experienced eye."[20] In another instance, Rubens delighted in the French Abbé de St. Ambroise's "great skill" in "changing or concealing the true meaning" of his paintings for the Marie de' Medici commission for the Luxembourg Palace.[21] Rubens, it might be said, was a humanist's humanist artist, valuing difficulty over ease, and the persuasive demonstration of time-honored substance over superficial appearance. In these humanist pursuits, drawing played a *foundational* role.

Rubens also fashioned himself as a particularly *eloquent* humanist artist, a fact that holds significant repercussions for a better understanding of his unusually eclectic approach to drawing and the functional role these works played in his wider enterprise. Soon after he returned from Italy to Antwerp at the still relatively youthful age of 31, he confidently placed life-sized sculptures of the two classical deities most associated with the erudite foundations of the arts – the so-called Hermathena, or Mercury (Eloquence) and Minerva (Wisdom) – together atop the central garden screen of the Italianate palazzo he constructed on the Wapper. These statues are illustrated in a detail of Jacobus Harrewijn's 1684 engraving after Jaques van Croes's design of the garden screen of the Rubenshuis in Antwerp (Figure 1.3).[22] Elizabeth McGrath has shown how these classical decorations on Rubens's Antwerp palazzo reflected the Flemish artist's attempts to re-create, or restore, a classical, usually Roman, past in the north, particularly in his own personal sphere. One of Rubens's goals was to emulate and recapture the long-lost works of the finest Greek artists, such as Apelles, Parhassius, Timanthes, and Pausias, often through the inspiration of Roman and Renaissance models.[23] Connecting the art of eloquence directly to painting, Rubens opted to give Mercury a winged hat and a maulstick and brushes, instead of the traditional caduceus, and Minerva the painter's palette instead of a shield.[24] He also incorporated the Hermathena in other works, including in his design for *Poetry and Virtue* (Antwerp, Plantin Museum), as well as in a design for the London Banqueting Hall ceiling.[25] As Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann observed, this subject held particular meaning for certain early modern northern draftsmen, including the Flemish artist Bartholomeus Spranger (1546–1611). Emphasizing the popularity of the Hermathena in central European, Rudolfine court culture at the turn of the seventeenth century, Kaufmann linked the popularity of the subject to contemporary humanist concerns for painting as an intellectual, liberal art and to drawing as the *a priori* site of artistic invention and fluency.[26]

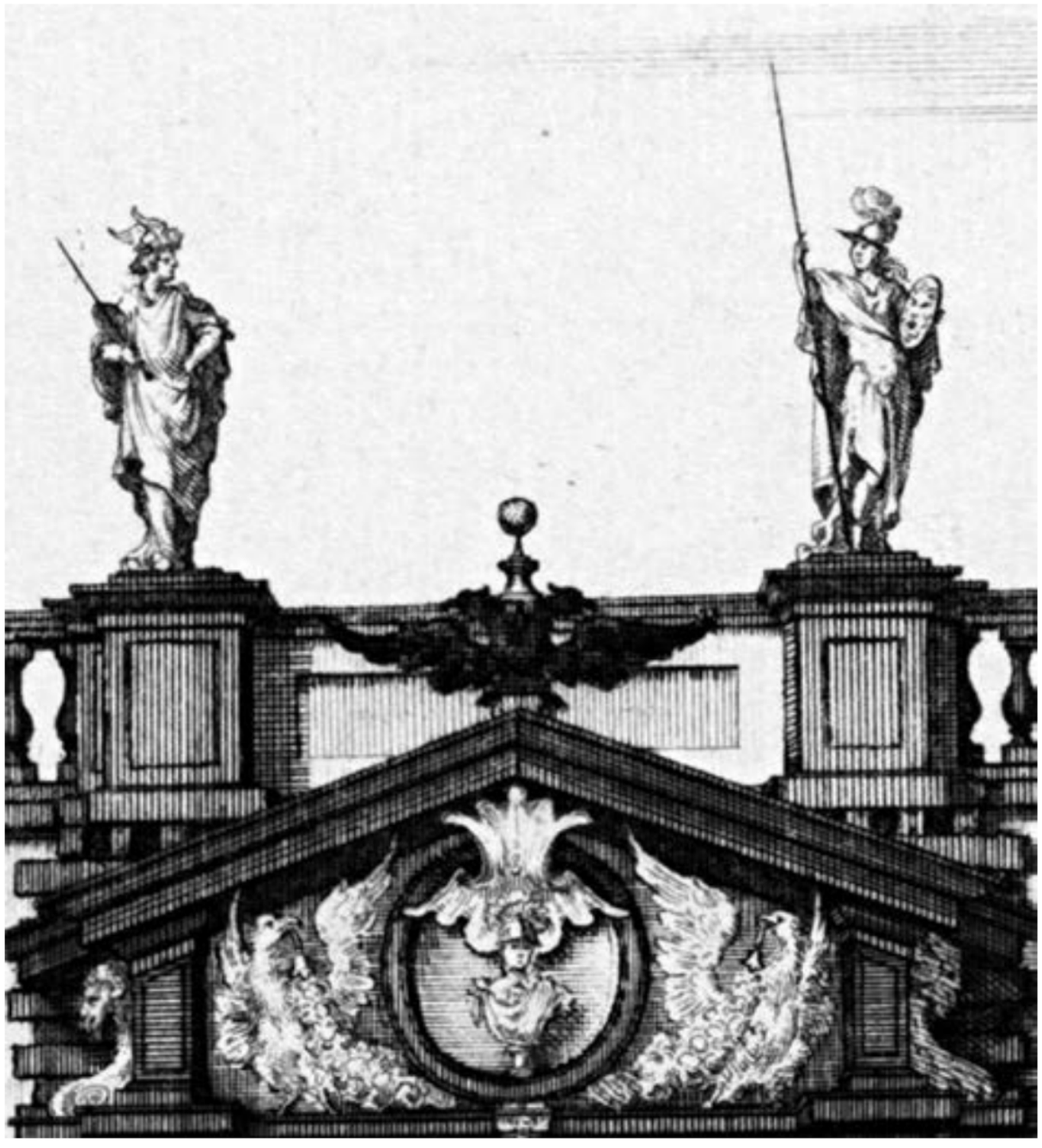


Figure 1.3
Jacob Harrewijn, after Jan van Croes, *View of the Garden of the Rubenshuis* (detail), Antwerp, 1684, engraving, 287 × 357 mm. Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951 (inv. 51.501.7503). © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

Kaufmann further connected this early seventeenth-century interest in manifesting the so-called "Eloquent I" in drawing to the rising status of the artist/draftsman as an individual, creative force bent on persuasion in early modern practice.[27] In this broader context, Rubens's choice of these figures as his sculptural herald outside his Antwerp palazzo and studio clearly announced his classical, humanist proclivities in a very public way, and emphasized the supreme confidence he placed in his own artistic and intellectual faculties and his capacity to persuasively represent his own innate wit (*ingenium*), judiciousness (*judicio*), and erudition. Rubens's self-identification with the Hermathena communicated something profound about his rhetorical and moralizing concerns, and his interest in self-fashioning an erudite, humanist identity in and through his art and public persona. In Rubens's day, the Hermathena was even equated at times with the classical virtue of *ingenium* itself, including by no less a luminary than Rubens's early philosophical mentor, the Louvain philologist Justus Lipsius, who mentioned it alongside the phrase "ad nostrum Genium" in a letter dated 1578.[28] In one instance, Rubens even moved Mercury's wings to Lipsius's head, showing Rubens's belief in the power of rapid, judicious thought to the expression of artistic eloquence.[29]

As Hannah Gray highlighted in her seminal 1963 article, the pursuit of eloquence has been linked since antiquity to classical traditions of rhetoric, oratory, and imitation and constituted one of the chief pursuits of early modern humanists.[30] The Roman orator Quintilian expressed his ideas on ideal oratory as an art of rhetoric, achieved in part through the selective (eclectic) imitation of the best authors, and an apt use of subject matter and style, in his influential pedagogical treatise, *De Institutio Oratoria* (first century CE).[31] Quintilian devoted no fewer than three books of his treatise to eloquence: two to rhetorical concerns that included elements of style (Books VIII–IX) and one to its training (Book X).[32] Quintilian's ideas on robust

oratory and eloquence have been shown to have been central to Rubens's thinking, and to his Flemish antiquarian colleague Franciscus Junius's ideas on classically inspired painting and writing, especially in Junius's *De Pictura Veterum*, 1637, translated into English in 1638 as *The Painting of the Ancients* – a volume known to, and effusively praised by, Rubens.[33] Quintilian's impact on Junius, discussed by Philipp Fehl within the context of the close relationship between Junius's and Rubens's thinking on the art of painting, is worth citing at length for the helpful way it describes the way that painting was thought to be similar to oratory in Rubens's Antwerp. It is also helpful for a better understanding of the emphasis placed on eloquence in humanist pictorial and theoretical circles in the Lowlands, and of the roles that stylistic eclecticism and classical notions of virtue played in creating a supremely elevated, mature art in Rubens's humanist sphere. According to Fehl,

> Junius's guide in his art-historical contemplations is, above all, Quintilian whose history of the art of eloquence traces the steady enrichment of the skills of the orator and a description and analysis of the plenitude of styles which are available to the orator when the art has reached its most sophisticated level. Quintilian also warns (as does Junius when he speaks of *pictura*) that rhetoric, whose highest task is to demonstrate and praise what is good and true and just, may easily be perfected by orators who ply their art in the service of greed and vanity. The bad purpose will not only corrupt the audience, but the art itself will decline, for ever coarser means will be employed to create effects that will blind rather than elevate the judgment of the audience. Junius's history of ancient art, like Vasari's earlier history of modern art, has a heart that beats to a moral tune.[34]

As Fehl observed, the "highest task" of the Quintilian-inspired rhetorical art of eloquence in Rubens's and Junius's circles was linked not only to human virtue and the reflection of a "good man" (*vir bonus*), but also to wider political and social concerns grounded in fears about the deleterious effects of laziness and indifference. Remarking on the link between artistic health and ideas of social health in their circle, Fehl observed, "Moral indifference brings about the decline of art; it is also the undoing of nations, for the declining art contributes its share, by confirming us in our vices, to the acceleration of decline. Wars that can no longer be averted finally complete the process of barbarization, and the memory of the arts dies."[35] In Rubens's circles, working for the artistic good, it seems, meant also working for the larger, social good, and eloquence and selective eclecticism – as the manifestations of the laborious, virtuous artist, and the antithesis of destructive idleness – offered one important prescription for both. Yet again, art and political philosophy went hand in hand for Rubens and his contemporaries, as in his allegorical *Horrors of War* painting, with the relative strength (or decline) of one impacting the relative strength (or decline) of the other. In this context, Rubens's foundational drawings – like the drawing under Mars's foot – exemplify not only the artist's most closely held ideas, but also his greater moral and artistic ambitions for them too. By this logic, creating strong foundations for one's art through persuasive designs grounded in important meanings held the potential to help create strong, substantive painting, and by extension, a stronger, more virtuous social fabric.

In this larger philosophical and cultural context, it is not surprising that Rubens actively privileged the activity of drawing, and valued his drawings as highly valuable

objects worthy of protection and emulation. The artist drew prodigiously throughout his life, a fact underscored by the hundreds of extant drawings still attributed to his hand. Michiel Plomp has recently numbered Rubens's extant drawings to approximately 700 sheets.[36] Rubens also actively collected drawings, as well as paintings, sculpture, and prints. The inventory of the artist's collection written following his death in 1640 (the so-called *Specification*) lists drawings by Bruegel, Michelangelo, and other esteemed predecessors. It also included many of Rubens's own drawings that he kept in his private collection until his death.[37] This penchant for collecting others' drawings is further evidenced in his astonishingly frequent "retouching" and emulation of other esteemed artists' drawings on paper, especially works by Italian artists including Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, and others.[38] In these sheets, most of which were executed before 1617, Rubens offered tribute to his predecessors' expressive accomplishments, even as he signaled his own victory over them through emulation and inventive transformations of his models.[39] As Roger de Piles noted, they also likely functioned as a way "to stimulate his senses and heat up his genius."[40]

Clearly, drawings held significant appeal for Rubens and his contemporaries. In addition to functioning as pragmatic tools in his collaborative workshop that communicated the master's most fundamental ideas, Rubens's drawings were hotly in demand by humanist friends and increasingly, amateur *liefhebbers* (art lovers) in



Figure 1.4 Peter Paul Rubens, *Alcibiades Interrupting the Symposium*, early seventeenth century, pen and brown ink, over black chalk, 267 × 367 mm. Gift of Harold K. Hochschild, 1940 (inv. 40.9.12). © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

the artist's own day. Following the 1657 dispersal of Rubens's personal drawings collection, early collectors and dealers such as Antoine Triest (1576–1657), Johannes Phillipus Happaert (d. 1686), Henry Lankrink (1628?–1692), Everhard Jabach (1618–95), and others seized the opportunity to own sizeable collections of Rubens's unique designs.[41] Rubens may have even encouraged their collection by humanists and new collectors. Long associated with a humanist artist's style and native wit (*ingenium*), drawings were increasingly valued in early seventeenth-century northern European circles as objects to be collected by the most discriminating of scholars.[42] They were sometimes even the subjects of humanist discourse and debate. According to Elizabeth McGrath, Rubens may have created his *Alcibiades Interrupting the Symposium* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; Figure 1.4) "for an unusual and private occasion" with an intimate circle of friends whose erudition was perhaps tested by its recondite subject matter.[43]

Quite unlike his collaborative works undertaken with pupils and assistants in the busy studio, drawing seems to have been a relatively intimate, and thus privileged, affair for Rubens. In his increasingly complex workshop in Antwerp, marked by a division of labor and well-paid assistants, all organized under Rubens's direction,[44] most of the artist's most important creative work for his larger commissions must have happened first and foremost in the far more quiet, intimate realm of drawing. While Rubens likely often drew for the benefit of workshop collaborators who later executed his designs in paint, drawing on paper in all likelihood constituted a mostly solitary act for Rubens, often presumably undertaken alone in his private, small studio (or *Cantoor*),[45] in the presence of friends or valued artistic models (as in Rome), or while taking his daily horseback rides around Antwerp. Like Rubens's personal letters, written in his own hand on paper often at the privacy of his own desk to his friends and humanist colleagues, they reflect the closest, most intimate works of an otherwise very busy, public artist and diplomat. Along with his personal letters and oil sketches, the drawings constitute the rare locus in Rubens's *oeuvre* largely untouched by others' hands.[46]

It should be no surprise then that Rubens prized his designs as objects of particular value, worthy of special protection. On the basis of hundreds of extant drawings, we know that Rubens drew unusually often relative to many of his contemporaries, and sometimes went to great lengths to protect his designs from the prying views of others. As Anne-Marie Logan observed, Rubens effectively considered his drawings "a studio secret."[47] Viewing his drawings and printed designs as intellectual property, Rubens was the first artist to apply for and receive what were essentially patents on his designs, much like the privileges awarded to humanist writers in his day, including Justus Lipsius.[48] Moreover, he took certain precautions to guard his drawings from others' use or view. In a 1626 letter to his friend Peiresc, Rubens named a "secret cabinet" (*geheim cabinet*) in his studio where the so-called Rubens Cantoor drawings were likely stored in large folios.[49] According to Paul Huvenne, this was likely a smaller, more private place upstairs from Rubens's busier workshop where the artist may have housed his drawings for safekeeping.[50] In significant ways, this small, private space in Rubens's Antwerp villa seems to have functioned much like an early seventeenth-century domestic *studiolo*, a largely exclusionary place of individual absorption often secreted away in a remote, interior space of the house (preferably adjacent to the bedroom), where a man of letters could retire to study, work on, and store precious, intimate treasures like books or drawings in equally intimate surroundings.[51]

Rubens's unusually protective stance towards his designs also surfaced in other ways throughout his career. Late in life, he once reminded his most trusted pupil, Lucas Fayd'herbe, to keep the cabinet locked so that other pupils could not steal his designs while he was away at his country home outside of Antwerp, Het Steen.[52] Reflecting his concern for protecting his original designs, he further asked Fayd'herbe to cover his original oil sketch of three *tronies* (expression studies) to protect his treasured design from others who might steal it: in his words, "so it may not suffer on the way, *or be seen* [*my emphasis*]."[53] In another instance, Rubens appointed a pupil, Willem Panneels, as guardian of his hidden designs while preparing for a trip to Madrid; however, Panneels boldly proceeded to copy many of them anyway.[54] These sheets form the important *atelier* copies, or so-called Cantoor drawings that were the subject of Jan Garff's 1988 *Rubens Cantoor* landmark exhibition and catalogue.[55]

Rubens's evident impulse to guard his studies was not an altogether new pratice in humanist graphic circles. One of his most esteemed models in the graphic realm, Michelangelo, similarly took pains to protect the intellectual content of his drawings. According to G.B. Armenini, the Florentine burned some of his designs so future generations would not know how he created them.[56] Highlighting the intellectual importance of his drawings, Francis Ames-Lewis theorized that Michelangelo wanted to destroy his drawings to hide the workings of his imagination from public scrutiny.[57] While there is no evidence to suggest that Rubens ever destroyed his drawings like Michelangelo, Rubens clearly held a sense of their value to posterity, much as did his esteemed graphic predecessors, Leonardo and Raphael. Unlike his forerunners, though, who respectively willed their designs to close pupils and friends like Francesco Melzi, Giulio Romano, and Gianfrancesco Penni,[58] Rubens guarded his designs quite literally within the family. Betraying a peculiarly pragmatic concern with their value and the role that families of painters played in northern workshops, he stipulated in his will that his impressive collection of drawings (both his own designs and the works of others he collected) be passed to any son or husband of his daughters who chose to study the art of painting, or otherwise be left to his own children until they were 18 years old.[59] While most of Rubens's paintings were dispersed at auction in the wake of the artist's death in 1640, his drawings were kept in the family until 1657 when his youngest daughter Constantia Albertina entered a convent and it was clear that no sons or sons-in-law would follow in his artistic footsteps.[60] Attesting to his drawings' enormous value in early collecting circles, these works were quickly sold to collectors and connoisseurs throughout Europe. One likely reason Rubens valued his drawings so much was their unique capacity to express his closest ideas, and his eloquent, authorial mind and hand. As a one-time pupil of Tobias Verhaect (1561–1631), Adam van Noort (1562–1641), and especially the erudite, *pictor doctus*, Otto van Veen, in Antwerp, Rubens was trained in the Italian Renaissance workshop tradition in which drawing as *disegno* was conceived as both the initial, mental design (*Idea*) and the physical manifestation of a largely following hand.[61]

The ideas of three sixteenth-century Italian theorists, Gian Paolo Lomazzo, G.B. Armenini, and Federico Zuccaro, seem to have particularly influenced the Flemish artist in this regard. Rubens is known to have consulted Lomazzo's highly influential 1584 *Trattato dell'arte della pittura* (Treatise on the art of painting),[62] and Armenini's 1586 *De' veri precetti della pittura* (On the true precepts of the art of painting), and in all likelihood Federico Zuccaro's 1607 *L'Idea de' pittori, scultori ed architetti* (Idea

of painters, sculptors and architects) as well.[63] Following on Vasari's promotion of the intellectual foundations of *disegno*, Lomazzo underscored the role of *Idea* in design in his highly influential *Trattato*, while Armenini similarly highlighted the intellectual, conceptual foundations of drawing.[64] In Armenini's *De' veri precetti*, style (or *maniera*) was linked to features that belonged to form and expression, including subject, composition, medium, color, light and shade, and contour, which paralleled, but were distinct from, the substance of the underlying thought or matter expressed.[65] In Armenini's view, such internal designs need not be grounded first in nature, thereby further heightening the role that invention and imagination played for him in *disegno*.[66]

Federico Zuccaro's *L'Idea de' pittori* also appears to have been significant to Rubens's ideas on drawing.[67] Grounded in Armenini's ideas on the importance of *Idea* in drawing and fundamental, Aristotelian separations of "form" and "matter," Zuccaro defined internal design (*disegno interno*) as the form (*forme spirituali*), or "concept formed in our mind, that enables us to explicitly and clearly recognize anything, whatever it may be, and to operate practically in conformance with the thing intended."[68] On the other hand, the resulting physical work (*disegno esterno*) referred to the pictorial representation of the concept in any medium, or "matter."[69] As Zuccaro's text suggests, graphic form and manner played an increasingly important role in the affective, persuasive demonstration of the idea in early seventeenth-century humanist artistic circles. Justus Müller Hofstede argued that Rubens borrowed the theme of furor, his interest in dramatic action, and the idea of pictorial "action groups" from Zuccaro.[70] Rubens looked to both Zuccaro and Leonardo who similarly adopted an Aristotelian epistemology, especially regarding the mind and imagination (*fantasia*) as the site where images produced from the senses were thought to be created, as well as memory as a visual faculty.[71] In this tradition, drawing constituted the medium most associated with expressing the artist's innate wit (*ingenium*), the form and quality of his mental creations (*Idea*), his originality (*capriccio*), and the fertility of his imagination. For some, drawing was even thought to be the most intimate manifestation of the artist's godly powers of creation. For Zuccaro, mental design constituted no less than "the sign of God in us" (*segno di Dio in noi*).[72]

Many of these ideas made their way north into Romanist studios in late sixteenth-century Antwerp. The most important such painter of the period, Frans Floris, embraced his teacher Lambert Lombard's Italianate vision of the creative process of drawing (*disegno*) as both mental and physical invention.[73] Rubens was similarly trained to privilege *disegno* as both physical and mental design (*Idea*), and to value the physical drawing as a material signifier of a closely held idea, and thus, as a manifestation of the creative artist himself.[74] His master Van Veen also introduced him to the virtues of invention (*inventio*), emulation (*aemulatio*), and drawing after esteemed models.[75] As the head of his own large studio in Antwerp, Rubens (like Raphael) separated the masterly, intellectual component of inventing works from their execution. Well-paid, trained assistants contributed to his paintings under the creative direction and watchful eye of their master – a practice stemming from the Renaissance tradition of splitting the invention of ideas (*inventio*) by the master from the execution of their ideas in the studio (*executio*), based in the perceived superiority in humanist circles of intellectual contributions over manual ones.[76]

Prevailing Renaissance theories about drawing as *disegno* drove these hierarchies. Vasari first wrote of the creative furor associated with drawing,[77] highlighting the

intrinsic value of drawings as superior to more finished works like painting due to their integral relationship with the workings of the artist's mind.[78] The notion that such seemingly unfinished "first thoughts" directly reflected the artist's imagination and boldness also dates back to Leonardo and his belief that a great humanist draftsman should work in a creative, poetic furor, unleashing his ideas in a flash of inspiration.[79] Like Vasari after him, Leonardo considered drawings more important than paintings for revealing the thoughts (*pensieri*) of the artist to the beholder. In short, drawings were seen as the most direct reflections of the quality and content of the artist's own intellect. They were physical manifestations of the artist's thinking and thus mirrors of the maker himself.

As in Raphael's studio, notions of originality in Rubens's studio similarly pointed to the celebration of authorial power over manual execution, to the point where Rubens once verbally expressed his idea to a trusted pupil and still considered the physical work his own. Blinded by gout in the late 1630s, Rubens dictated an idea for a small drawing to his pupil Erasmus Quellinus, who then executed his design.[80] Rubens's "own hand" in drawings would have certainly included a manual share for him and his contemporaries, though it was almost certainly the intellectual, inventive piece – the designing mind and the underlying concept (*Idea*) so critical to Vasari's notion of *disegno* – where the real authorial power and artistic value resided. Related ideas also circulated widely in Rubens's Antwerp circles. In *The Painting of the Ancients*, Rubens's Flemish contemporary Franciscus Junius similarly divided the mental design or model ("Pattern") from the physical, two-dimensional representation of the artist's invention or argument ("Designe").[81] Evidence suggests that Rubens embraced these notions in his own drawing and painting practice. In one notable instance, Rubens described a drawing of *King David Playing his Harp* that he sent to an unknown artist around 1612–15 (Paris, Louvre) as a mechanism for "demonstrat[ing] his thoughts" (*per dimostrar solo il pensiero*).[82] In his discussion of Rubens's Pocketbook of theoretical studies, Roger de Piles also wrote that "I have seen a book in his hand . . . in which the demonstrations and discussions were together. . ."[83] De Piles situated these autograph "demonstrations" of text and image specifically in the tradition of poetry and Horace's *ut pictura poesis*, as exemplified by Raphael and the best masters.[84] According to his brother Philip, Rubens was also known for the virtues of both mental and manual design. In Philip's *Electorum Libri Duo*, an elegy written on the occasion of Justus Lipsius's death, he thanked Peter Paul for his help on his *Electa*, praising him for "his craftsman's hand and . . . keen and sure judgment."[85]

Paradoxically, the many sketchy, *peu finis* drawings attributed to Rubens – those "first and sleight" drawings reportedly most in demand by humanist *liefhebber* friends[86] – perhaps speak most eloquently to the status of his drawings as markers for the quality of his intellect. Since the sixteenth century, fiery *non-finito* drawings (especially in pen and ink) were prized in humanist circles for their ability to evoke the artist's thoughts and to stimulate the beholder's imagination. Antoine Joseph Dézallier d'Argenville (French, 1680–1765) remarked that connoisseurs appreciated such seemingly unfinished drawings on the basis that they demonstrated the sheet's (and by extension, the artist's) originality.[87] Dézallier d'Argenville further likened *non-finito* sheets to the artist who loses himself in his work and throws his ideas down on paper for a knowledgable viewer to grasp.[88] The French drawings collector and amateur, the Comte de Caylus (1692–1765), also defended such drawings on

the basis that they demonstrated the artist's ability to surpass nature and evidence the truth of his expression.[89] According to De Piles, who first published Rubens's nephew Philip Rubens's biography of the artist in the late seventeenth century, such sketchy, unfinished *peu finis* drawings excited the imagination and evidenced the original "first thoughts" of the artist. In De Piles's early translation of *The Life of Rubens*, they were described as *premières pensées*, or works of art closest to the artist and to his original, inventive intellect.[90] Rubens's own drawings were also associated with rapidity in drawing, and with the boldness and *esprit* believed to reveal the creative furor of the draftsman. Drawings collector P.J. Mariette once described a Rubens drawing depicting the martyrdom of St. Peter as "une première idée pleine d'esprit," contrasting it with another Rubens sheet described as "finished" (*terminé*).[91]

For contemporaries, questions of "finish" seem to have related inversely to questions of value, especially for humanists who concerned themselves with unraveling their meanings. Following Raphael, who promoted his own innate talent (*ingenium*) by cultivating an appreciation of his rapid, seemingly "unfinished" drawings studied in multiple sketches (Plate 16), Rubens privileged his drawings as objects revealing the heated process of his own creative, mental inventions and the workings of his imagination.[92] He encouraged the collection of these drawings, especially the rough, sketchy "first thoughts" called *crabbelinge*: sheets like his *Death of Dido* (Figure 3.9) that were particularly valued for the direct evidence they provided of the artist's thoughts and mental capabilities.[93] Franciscus Junius, whom Rubens praised for his "admirable erudition" and for his "storehouse" of examples and precepts of antique authors in *De Pictura Veterum* (1637), neatly summed up the value that these "unfinished" sketches held for fellow humanists in demonstrating the judiciousness and the quality of the poet/artist's mental concepts:

> [M]any who have a deeper insight in these Arts, delight themselves as much in the contemplation of the first, second, and third draughts which great Masters made of their workes, as in the workes themselves: neither is it any marvell that they should be so much ravished with this contemplation, seeing they do not onely perceive in these naked and undistinguished lineaments what beauty and force there is in a good and proportionable designe; but they do likewise see in them the very thoughts of the studious Artificer, and how he did bestirre his judgment before he could resolve what to like and what to dislike.[94]

Ultimately, both Rubens and his fellow antiquarian Junius found esteemed, classical authority in this regard, as Pliny wrote "that works left unfinished are valued more than finished works because in these we see traces of the design and the thoughts of the artists [*liniamenta reliqua ipsaeque cogitationes artificum*]."[95] By the early modern period, part of the value accorded to such *crabbelinge* appears to have been squarely situated with the beholder. The early eighteenth-century French drawings collector and amateur, the Comte de Caylus, declared:

> The inquisitive eye and the animated imagination are pleased and flattered to finish what often is only sketched. The difference found in my opinion between a beautiful drawing and a beautiful painting is that in one, one may read in proportion to his ability all that the great painter has wanted to represent and

> in the other, one has himself finished the object offered you. Consequently one is often more stimulated by the sight of one than by that of the other [. . .][96]

Such unfinished sketches were thus thought to engage the imagination more than their painted counterparts, as well as to mirror, in Leo van Puyvelde's words, "the living act of creation."[97] For collectors like Caylus, it seems, fewer marks signaled the potential of greater underlying ideas to unearth or imagine. Full of promise, as well as a spirited manifestation of the freedom of artistic creation, such strikingly humble drawings represented not only the most profound thoughts of the artist, but also the powers of the discerning viewer and his imaginative mind. They captured, in Caylus's words, the artist's "inspiration and ardour, when reflection has toned nothing down."[98]

As part of his training, Rubens would have been taught the importance of achieving a masterly personal style, much as had his predecessor, Frans Floris, who, by contrast, conveyed a more uniform personal style in and through his workshop.[99] In early modern Italianate workshops, pupils were taught to draw by first learning how to copy after prior models, and later, after nature and the master's own style, so that they could assist with the execution of the master's ideas in paint.[100] Still, it is worth remembering how *little* Rubens's youthful drawings or paintings *ever* looked like his teachers' models, and the subsequent degree to which Rubens's more mature eclecticism – largely perfected *after* he became a master in his own right in 1598 – seems to have flouted such a single, "teachable" personal style, despite his commitments to workshop assistance and expressing his own, masterly, hand. Rather, his interests – both formal and stylistic – seem to have stemmed from his earliest training in emulating the works of many prior masters and echoing the formal and conceptual models he consulted.[101] Like the Carracci, who also flaunted a remarkably sophisticated eclectic style grounded in selectively emulating and combining the styles and ideas of classical and Renaissance sources,[102] Rubens's eclecticism constituted a striking *a priori* interest in selective emulation (*aemulatio*) over a single, recognizable, manner of drawing. As Charles Dempsey argued of Annibale Carracci's Farnese Ceiling, however, these moments of emulation were not mere "borrowings," but often "quotations intended to be recognized as such."[103] This required a flexible, archaeological way of thinking, an extraordinary mnemonic recall, and a varied mental and physical storehouse at his fingertips from which to draw. To better understand the artistic roots, and larger social and artistic implications, of Rubens's concerns for graphic eclecticism, and more to the point artistic eloquence, it is useful to look again at his most formative artistic period in Italy, when his ideas about artistic maturity and health – and the role of drawing in achieving both – were most potently in the making.

Forming a Mature Art through Drawing in Rubens's Roman Period

Two years after his admittance as master painter in the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke, Rubens famously embarked on what eventually would be an eight-year stay in Italy from 1600 to 1608 to learn from the best visual and textual models of the classical and Renaissance past firsthand. As Rubens's nephew Philip succinctly observed in the earliest biography of the artist, Rubens was "seized with a desire to see Italy and to

view firsthand the most celebrated works of art, ancient and modern, in that country, *and to form his art after these models* [*my emphasis*]."[104] At least three aspects of Philip's account are especially worth noting here: the pressing, impassioned urgency ("seized with a desire") with which Rubens reportedly undertook his Italian journey; the importance of his Italian location ("in that country"); and finally, his apparent desire to study and digest the most esteemed models of the antique and modern (Renaissance) past, witnessed "firsthand," into an original, masterly style. If we trust his nephew's lucid account, Rubens likely even conceived of his Italian journey *after* joining the Guild of St. Luke as a master painter in 1598. While drawing after esteemed models had long been an essential part of a humanist artist's workshop training, Rubens continued this *praxis* for years after becoming a recognized master in his own right.

As implied in Philip's biography, Rubens apparently intended to inform his mature art by building up a storehouse of meaningful motifs and graphic ideas, once again acting as a student – this time not as a pupil to northern painters such as Verhaect or Van Veen, or to the northern tradition of Pieter Bruegel, Barthel Beham, Jost Amman, and Hans Holbein to which he was heir, but rather as an engaged disciple of the classical past, studied through particular classical and Renaissance authors and visual sources, including Pliny and Quintilian, and the Farnese Hercules and Raphael's Villa Farnesina frescoes, to name but a few. In this sense, Rubens's Italian sojourn constituted a *de facto* continuation of his humanist training in emulating the works of prior masters in drawing, though this time his studio was the vibrant, largely reconstructed city of Rome itself, and his subject matter were the values and customs of antiquity, often interpreted in more modern (Renaissance) works. There, an ambitious northern humanist like Rubens could serve as a confident master apprentice to antiquity and its most cherished models and values *at their source*. As Philip clarified in his early biography, though, Rubens's time in Italy was not just about observing and copying great models; it concerned a fundamental shift in his style, and involved his ambitions to create his own new, or at least, more mature, art based on his interpretations of his lessons and observations there. Paradoxically, this was not the project of a mere pupil setting out to copy what he observed, but rather an ambitious project undertaken by a humanist artist in part recalculating (or at least, refining) strategies for achieving artistic superiority partially formed in his training in the northern humanist workshops of Adam van Noort (c. 1552–1641) and especially Otto van Veen. Having already achieved a basic humanist and artistic training in Antwerp, Rubens apparently saw himself now as mature and studied enough to understand and draw upon the underlying lessons of often recondite classical and classically inspired sources, engaged directly through the senses, to new, original ends. After Rubens finished his artistic training, he continued to apply himself to the Latin, humanistic studies to which his father ("extremely versed in letters") first exposed him. In Max Rooses's words, "[Rubens's] life was one long course of study."[105]

By the turn of the seventeenth century, such formative trips seem to have been an increasingly *de rigueur* part of a mature humanist formation in northern Europe, especially for Rubens's close philosophical circles in the Neostoic orbit of Justus Lipsius,[106] and Lipsius's friend (and Rubens's master), Van Veen. Lipsius's most advanced and scholarly disciples in his intimate Antwerp *contubernium* (Peter Paul's brother Philip Rubens [1547–1611] and their mutual friend Jan Woverius, for example) embarked upon similar study trips at the same time as Peter Paul at the behest of their master, Lipsius, though their study focused more on a prescribed range

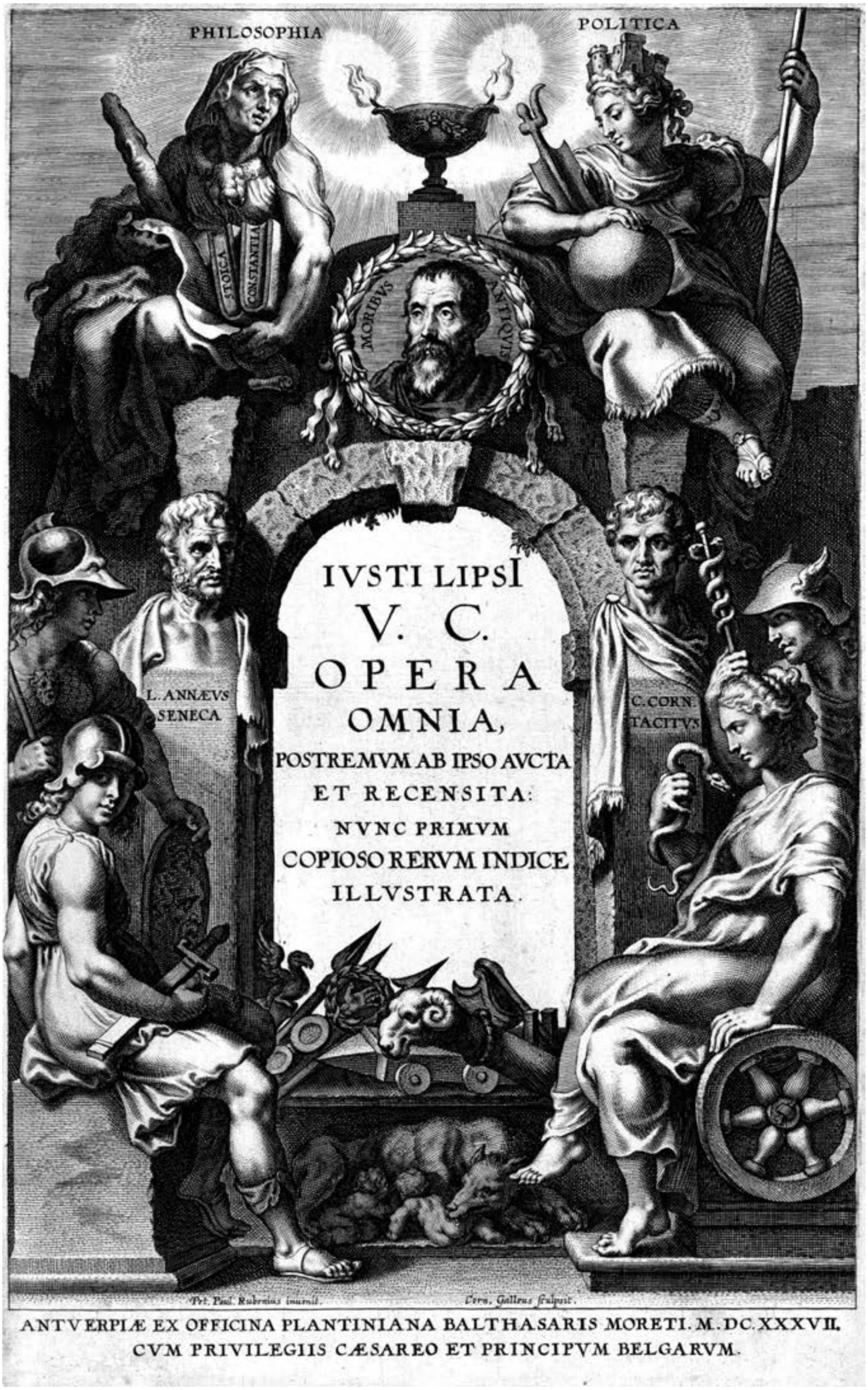


Figure 1.5 Peter Paul Rubens, Title Page for Justus Lipsius's *Opera Omnia* (Antwerp, 1637), engraving by Cornelis Galle, 321 × 202 mm. British Museum, London (inv. 1858–0417.1233). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

of classical and Renaissance texts and philology than the visual arts.[107] Lipsius even engaged in a similar study trip to Italy himself early in life, when he was 20 years old, focusing, like Rubens, on Rome.[108] The "enduring fruit" (*solidum fructum*) of this trip also extended, according to Jan Papy, to Lipsius's "presence-by-proxy" in Rome through both his writings and the students who would act as "ambassadors for himself and his stoic programme" when he could not be personally present.[109] In Lipsius's words, he made his own intellectual pilgrimage in order to "really travel" (*vere peregrinari*), a practice Lipsius explicitly associated with the capacity of an elite few for unusually recondite learning.[110] This involved experiencing ideas and digesting important classical precepts and models in (or closer to) their place of origin, and expanding the possibilities of language and style to produce new, updated models for a new and often troubled age, grounded in classical rhetorical principles and emulating selected models and values of the past in the tradition of Quintilian, Seneca, and Tacitus.[111]

Rome, for Lipsius, was "the compendium of the world" (*compendium orbis*).[112] Learning from – and then judiciously applying – a variety of particularly esteemed classical models constituted a key goal of these intellectual pilgrimages. As Lipsius wrote in one letter wistfully bemoaning Philip Rubens's absence, "os plenum tu mellis habes" (you have mouths full of honey): a classically inspired reference that almost certainly referred to his disciples' sweet pleasure in imbibing an eclectic selection of the best models of the past in Italy.[113] In his influential *Politica* (Leiden: F. Raphelengius, 1589), Lipsius championed a revival of a Senecan approach to eclecticism and eloquence, likening his gathering and use of commonplaces taken from other authors to a bee gathering nectar from "other authors' flowers."[114] In a similar vein, the northern painter and writer Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627–1678) praised Rubens for his almost philological capacity to draw together storehouses of exemplars "out of the treasure of his imagination . . . like a useful bee that flies onto all kinds of flowers and sucks nothing but honey, [and] extract[s] all kinds of usefulness from the examples of others."[115] According to Van Hoogstraten, Rubens was even criticized while in Rome for copying after "so few Italian paintings and only spen[ding] his precious time wandering, looking, and sitting quietly."[116] To this Rubens reportedly retorted, "I am most busy when you see me idle."[117]

Lipsius's philosophical and stylistic impact on his closest followers would be difficult to overstate. On the occasion of the publication of Lipsius's *De Constantia* (Leiden: C. Plantin, 1584), Flemish humanist Ogerius Busbequius (c. 1520–1591) praised the Louvain philologist for having "taught us to speak according to the custom of the ancients."[118] In Dutch classicist Zweder van Martel's words, Busbequius credited Lipsius for no less than "having widened the boundaries of the Latin language, and [having] increased the territory of Roman eloquence."[119] Crucially, Busbequius's style (as well as his models) similarly shifted during the time when he was most under Lipsian influence,[120] suggesting that Lipsius's revival of Senecan ideals further held the potential to affect shifts in stylistic and rhetorical strategies for other northern humanists who saw themselves, like Rubens (at least early on, while in Italy), as his intellectual followers.[121]

Lipsius's Senecan revival around the turn of the seventeenth century is significant for a better understanding of Rubens's formative period in Italy. Jan Papy and Mark Morford, among others, have substantially contributed to demonstrating how Lipsius and his Stoic revival in the Lowlands exercised a profound – even transformative –

impact on Rubens and his circle, and on the artist's approach to drawing and painting during his time in Italy and beyond.[122] A professor of history and philosophy at Jena and later Louvain, Lipsius was the scholar most credited with the revival of Stoic philosophy and its reconciled application to Christian, social, and political ideals in northern Europe in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In Lipsius's Senecan-inspired view, philosophy and philology were closely allied; indeed, the latter formed the basis of the former.[123] Lipsius's Neostoic contributions included a major edition of Tacitus with commentary (1581), two editions of Seneca's complete works, and studies on Roman military history and customs (1595, 1597). He further penned highly influential political treatises informed by his Stoic interests, including the widely disseminated *De Constantia*, emphasizing the virtue of reasoned judgment over the passions. With its outwardly pragmatic, moralizing, and authoritarian bent, the *Politica* is also generally believed to have contributed to the emergence of the modern state.[124] In perhaps his most important contribution to Neostoic thought, the *Physiologia stoicorum* (bound with his *Manuductio ad Stoicam Philosophiam*; 1604), Lipsius brought together the classical evidence for Stoicism, and outlined, among other things, his Christian- and Neoplatonic-inspired philosophy on fate and creation, including "the ideas or forms of all existing things" located in God.[125] The writings of Seneca and Tacitus formed the foundation of many of his most influential ideas. Rubens pictorialized this point in his title page design for Lipsius's 1637 edition of his *Opera Omnia* (Figure 1.5) by framing his portrait of Lipsius with busts of the Latin Stoic and Tacitus beneath personifications of *philosophia* and *politica*. Notably linking Lipsius, Seneca, and Tacitus to the classical art of eloquence, Rubens also included the allegorical Hermathena – Mercury and Minerva (Eloquence and Wisdom) – in his design.

While Lipsius and Rubens likely never met, nor shared direct correspondence, the elder philologist exerted a profound intellectual influence on Rubens's early interest in the Christianized version of the Stoic revival, his pronounced interest in Seneca and Tacitus, and the artist's broader inclinations toward artistic and diplomatic pragmatism. While Lipsius's impact on Rubens appears most intense during his early Italian period, Rubens first engaged the elder philologist's ideas during his humanistic artistic training in Antwerp. Otto van Veen first introduced him to Stoic principles through the works of Seneca and Tacitus, and likely referred his pupil to Lipsius (one of Van Veen's correspondents) as the central authority on Stoicism.[126] Rubens also enjoyed an exceptionally close relationship with three of the philosopher's closest disciples in his Antwerp Neostoic circle, including his own elder brother, Philip, as well as his close friends and correspondents Jan Moretus and Jan Woverius, the latter of whom was later executor of Lipsius's estate. As Nico van Hout observed, "From 1594 onwards, Justus Lipsius had welcomed students of classical antiquity into his home at Louvain; it was within this circle that Philip Rubens and Woverius imbibed the revised and Christianized version of Senecan stoicism that Lipsius so effectively propounded."[127] Philip Rubens's antiquarian *Electorum Libri Duo* (Antwerp, 1608) included Lipsian-inspired commentary on Stoicism, as well as his own Stoic-inspired poetry dedicated to Lipsius. Rubens designed the engravings executed by Cornelius Galle for his brother's volume as well.[128] Under the early patronage of Vincenzo Gonzaga (1587–1612), Duke of Mantua, Rubens almost certainly discussed Lipsius's books and ideas in person with his brother and other friends in the so-called "Mantuan circle." Rubens's brother Philip and their mutual friend Balthasar Moretus

were two of Lipsius's closest associates at the time. In Rubens's well-known early group portrait executed in Mantua, the so-called *Self-Portrait with the Mantuan Circle of Friends*, c. 1602 (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum; Plate 8), Rubens pictured himself in this close company alongside Lipsius, Philip, and Galileo.[129] A meeting may have even taken place of the Mantuan circle (without Lipsius, who was likely in Louvain) when Rubens returned there in 1604.[130] In a later group portrait, Rubens pictured himself with a posthumous Lipsius, Philip, Woverius, and Lipsius's faithful dog Mopsus, in the so-called *Four Philosophers*, c. 1611–15 (Florence, Pitti Palace; Plate 9).[131] Painted over a decade apart, these portraits testify to the familial closeness Rubens felt to Lipsius and his followers, and moreover to his status as intellectual disciple of Lipsius.

Rubens also knew and studied Lipsius's ideas through his writing. The famed Antwerp Plantin and later Plantin-Moretus Press, with which Rubens was also closely allied throughout his life and through which Rubens had direct access to Lipsius's writings, also published most of the Louvain philosopher's most important tracts, including *De Constantia* and the first edition of Lipsius's culminating volume on the Stoic revival, *L. Annaei Senecae Philosophi Opera, Quae Exstant Omnia* (Antwerp: Plantin-Moretus, 1605) for which Rubens also designed the title page (Figure 1.6).[132] Before his death, Lipsius asked Rubens to replace the frontispiece portrait in the first edition engraved by Theodore Galle. Rubens complied, eventually replacing the frontispiece with one by Cornelis Galle II, based on a Rubens drawing now in the British Museum, in a later, 1615 edition (Plate 10).[133] Pictorially evidencing his enormous esteem for Lipsius and his Neostoic ideals, Rubens ringed Lipsius's new portrait with a triumphal wreath framed by two cornucopias laced with the titles of Lipsius's most important Neostoic works, and topped by the fires of intellect and Mercury's (Eloquence's) winged hat. Commenting on the revised design, Rubens's friend and publisher Balthasar Moretus observed the "spirit and intelligence visible in the likeness" of Lipsius, which he believed inspired the viewer to study Seneca's writings in Lipsius's edition more closely.[134] In the later 1637 Antwerp edition of the *Opera Omnia*, Rubens again included the lively 1615 portrait, this time atop the keystone of a Roman triumphal arch. Rubens even owned a very special copy of the Plantin 1605 edition, annotated in Lipsius's own hand.[135] Further evidencing the proximity of their intellectual and political sympathies, Lipsius and Rubens likely both belonged to the Family of Love sect at the Plantin house that promoted the virtues of love, charity, and piety in the face of the age's considerable religious and political strife.[136]

Lipsius's influence was palpable in Rubens's artistic practice all the way into the 1630s. In early works such as Rubens's *Death of Decius Mus*, c. 1616–17 (Liechtenstein, Princely Collections),[137] for example, Rubens incorporated Lipsian Neostoic principles grounded in Seneca and Tacitus, including a concern with the virtues of Stoic constancy, self-discipline, individual self-sacrifice for a higher cause, and heroic equanimity in the face of death. Rubens showed a particular interest in Seneca during his Italian period. For example, he painted a work known as *The Dying Seneca*, c. 1612–13 (Munich, Alte Pinakothek; inv. 305),[138] after the classical African Fisherman (Paris, Louvre), then likely in the Borghese collection in Rome and thought at the time to be a portrait of Seneca dying in his bath,[139] and drew a handful of independent drawings with Senecan themes. He also carried a sculptural bust back to Antwerp from Rome that was then thought to be a portrait of the Latin Stoic (the

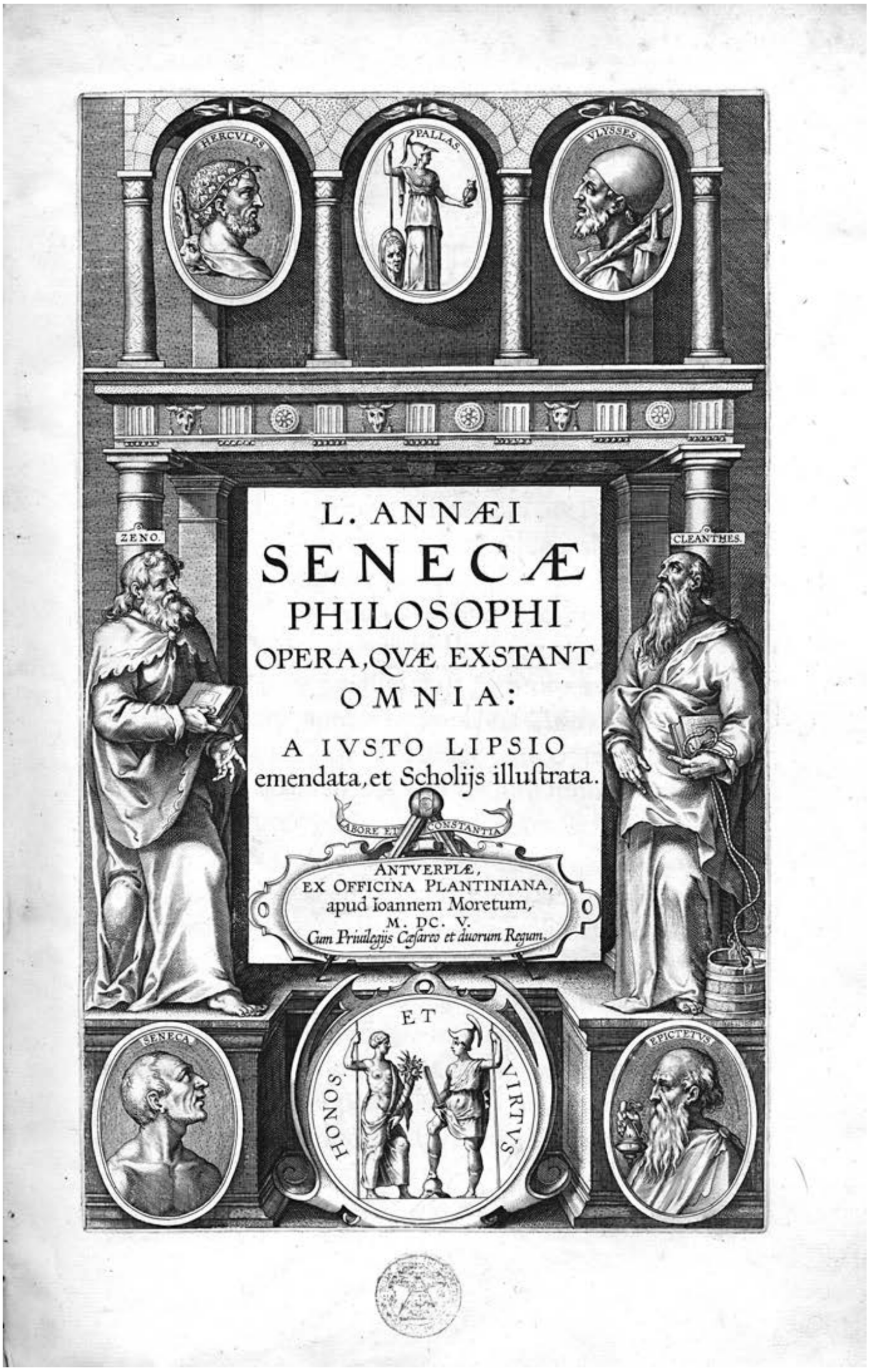


Figure 1.6 Peter Paul Rubens, Title page, *L[ucii] Annaei Senecae philosophi Opera, quae exstant omnia: a Justo Lipsio emendate et scholiis illustrate* (Antwerp: Plantin-Moretus Press, 1605). Credit: Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp. Photo: Peter Maes.

so-called Farnese Seneca),[140] and displayed the bust above his workshop door in his new Italianate villa on the Wapper.[141] He incorporated it in a number of his book illustration designs, including his title pages for the 1615 and 1637 editions of Lipsius's Senecan *Opera Omnia*, as well as in his earlier painting of the *Four Philosophers*, placing it quite deliberately right above Lipsius's head, as if to underscore their familial, philosophical lineage.

Rubens often engaged the Latin philosopher's texts and ideas during his Roman period. Senecan themes dominated Rubens's compositions, particularly in the first decade of the seventeenth century when he was most influenced by Lipsius. Rubens's engagement with Seneca's texts was apparently lifelong. De Piles wrote that Rubens enjoyed reading Seneca,[142] and Otto Sperling recalled on his 1621 visit to Rubens's studio that Seneca's books were being read aloud to him while he painted.[143] This account was later also reported by Rubens's nephew Philip in his early biography. According to Philip, Rubens paid someone to sit next to him while he worked reading from Plutarch, Seneca, and other classical authors so that he could fixate simultaneously on both painting and the text.[144]

Rubens first became interested in the Stoic philosopher's works during his early Roman years when Seneca's influence on early modern humanist drama was at its height.[145] Rubens likely had unfettered access to Seneca's writings during this period, especially through Lipsius's new editions of his work. His study for the Plantin 1615 printing of Lipsius's edition of Seneca's Complete Works features a lively portrait of Lipsius and personifications of Honor and Virtue, framed by busts of Seneca and Tacitus (Plate 10). Rubens's humanist friend Balthasar Moretus was once said to have remarked that readers who concentrated on Rubens's title page were more apt to deeply engage the edition's meanings.[146] Like Lipsius, Rubens appears to have liberally imbibed Seneca's texts, translating many of the figures and themes then associated with the Latin Stoic's larger body of work into a range of compositions. Rubens's Senecan-inspired works included large-scale history paintings, replete with strong and virtuous leaders, expressing Neostoic themes of constancy, reason, and moral fortitude.[147] As Joost Vander Auwera has recently highlighted, Rubens also embraced Seneca's eclectic approach to selective imitation and emulation particularly in his choice of visual models.[148] For Rubens, to know Lipsius was to know Seneca, and vice versa.[149]

In this tradition, Lipsius recommended in his epistolary treatise, the *Epistolica Institutio*, that fellow humanists use apt quotations from a range of erudite, historical and literary sources in their most intimate personal letters, much as Lipsius and Rubens did in writing their own personal letters to studied friends.[150] Indeed, it was through the ideas of Seneca and Lipsius, filtered through his own reading, his teacher Van Veen, and his close humanist connections in Lipsian circles, that the artist's commitments to stylistic eclecticism and emulation were both born and nurtured. Rubens's graphic tendency to quote, and sometimes disguise, his many sources in his drawings, points to a similar way of thinking. His evident interest in the 1637 publication of Franciscus Junius's *De Pictura Veterum* (The Painting of the Ancients) and Junius's exempla of classical sources in his *Catalogus*, as well as his stated wish that Junius produce a similar catalogue of more recent Italian paintings (*De pictoris italorum*), further suggests Rubens's Senecan-inspired interest in gathering together and transforming the widest range of excellent humanist visual and textual models extended throughout his career.[151]

In this context, the new range of textual and visual models that powerfully informed Rubens's work in his Italian period, and well beyond, points to a fundamental, Senecan shift in Rubens's approach to drawing and eclecticism, grounded in the ideas of Lipsius. As has often been noted, Rubens turned his attention during his Roman sojourn to esteemed classical and Renaissance sculpture, painting, and drawing, as well as ideas located in an astounding range of classical and Renaissance texts published in the many languages in which he was already fluent. Supported by his growing aristocratic and humanist connections in the Eternal City, facilitated by his connections with the Gonzaga court in Mantua, he enjoyed extraordinary access to private and papal libraries and collections that included some of the most important sculptural and painterly models of the classical and Renaissance past. As was the case in his many extant drawings, including his sheets after the Hellenistic sculpture of the Laocoön (Plate 27) or the Belvedere Torso that he studied in the Vatican Belvedere, Rubens studied many of his visual models in Rome firsthand, often emulating the sculptural works from multiple – and often unusual – vantage points, much as if he were drawing from a live model in the studio.[152] Yet, at least one compelling contemporary account suggests that he did not always prefer to draw these models on the spot. While in Italy, a quietly ruminating and keenly observant Rubens once reportedly offered a sharp rebuke to an artist in Rome who criticized him for not drawing directly after Italian models. [153] According to Van Hoogstraten's 1678 account, Rubens retorted: "I believe that I have better retained what I have looked at, than you who have drawn it." Rubens evidenced this by demonstrating to his critic his "treasure of the imagination."[154] Van Hoogstraten evidently agreed. He concluded that "copying everything is too slavish, even impossible; to entrust everything to one's imagination really requires a Rubens."[155] The large number of studio copies after Rubens based on antique models (imagined or otherwise) housed today in Copenhagen suggests that Rubens drew many more of these studies than are represented by the extant drawings securely attributed to him after classical models today.[156]

As Rubens's repeated use of his expression studies for the Laocoön demonstrates, he often returned to some of these ideas time and again, flexibly changing and incorporating them into new drawn and painted contexts, often to meet new conceptual ends. Indeed, classical and more recent Italian models and drawings – both his own inventions in pen and ink or chalk, and the many drawings that he bought and emulated while in Italy that informed his work throughout his career – seem to have formed the formal and conceptual basis of Rubens's new, or at least more mature, art. Given that drawing in the Italian Renaissance workshop tradition was long associated with artistic pedagogy and training, it is little wonder that Rubens turned first and foremost to the practice of drawing to learn and absorb his lessons, and as the basis on which he would formulate his art after these models. These sheets offered him a highly intimate and portable method for a new, humanist training grounded in visible models and an opportunity to emulate the best works of the distant, usually Roman, past firsthand. Many of these early sketches became the formal and conceptual material from which his paintings from the Roman period, and beyond, were both literally and figuratively drawn.

Crucially, drawing proved one of the central activities for Rubens to digest the lessons of the past, and emulation of multiple models became his chief method for

imbibing them and transforming them into something new. For example, Rubens closely studied excellent models from antiquity and the Italian Renaissance, and often tried to correct or update them by altering his copies to heighten certain aspects he still found wanting or in need of improvement in his original model. In his many drawings after the Hellenistic Laocoön sculptural grouping, he demonstrated his concern for heightening the classical theme of torment through further emphasis and alterations in the work's facial and bodily expressions of pain (Figure 3.15). The judicious selection and transformation of exemplars (*prudentia*) – particularly in the realms of painting and drawing where few examples from the ancient world remained – was part and parcel of this approach, as it was for Lipsius in the literary realm. With Quintilian, Raphael, and Lipsius as some of his chief methodological models, Rubens prized superior authorship and masterly originality as the byproducts of excellent, judicious emulation.[157] As Philipp Fehl summarized in his study of Rubens and the contemporary northern humanist Franciscus Junius, "There is no pride of originality in the humanistic studies of the Renaissance; what mattered was the courage to learn from great example, to imitate justly and in the right place what a great past could in truth teach all time."[158] Rubens's early biographer, Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613–96), noted that Rubens already had his own style while in Italy, and often drew with an eye towards hiding or dissimulating the models he imitated there to the point of sometimes being unrecognizable. Observing that Rubens's translations did not always conform to a classical idea, he stated instead that Rubens translated his classical models, such as Apollo, Venus, and the Gladiator, into his own *maniera*.[159]

Given the significant number of extant drawings from his Italian period, Rubens may even have drawn on a daily basis in Rome, much as he would have done as a budding apprentice in Antwerp. In this regard, it is also worth noting that many more drawings remain from Rubens's Italian period than from his earliest Antwerp period as a pupil. This may reflect an increased practice of drawing in Italy, or the fact that his mature works were almost certainly more highly valued by the artist, his patrons, and a rapidly growing group of early drawings collectors than his earlier studies, and thus were likely more carefully stored and saved. Based on the relatively few surviving sheets from his earliest period, we know that his graphic models from his pre-Italian period were, by contrast, primarily northern European artists. Drawings from this early period, for example, show Rubens more interested in emulating the work of Barthel Beham, Jost Amman, Hans Holbein, and others. While his designs from this period already highlight narrative and rhetorical preoccupations, including a desire to enliven his figures through emphasizing active bodily comportments and heightened expressions, most of his earliest extant drawings emphasize continued recognition of his model. In stylistic terms, his early graphic manner seems to have been more consistently dominated by crisp pen-and-ink contours, sometimes with refining washes, that allowed him to capture the forms and linear qualities of his often printed models. Overall, the neatness and clarity of these early linear designs demonstrate his early commitment to *disegno*, or drawing as mental and physical design, and his ambition to translate his models in ways that visually honored his northern predecessors and his often printed models, and that emphasized the works' northern characteristics. This is seen, for example, in Rubens's documentary concerns and emphasis on surface details in his treatment of fabrics and clothing styles in the so-called Costume Book drawings explored by Kristin Belkin.[160] Still, from as early

on as his first copies after Holbein's *Dance of Death*, he selectively added, subtracted, or rearranged motifs in his copied sheets, often uniting similar types of figures from various models into new compositional arrangements. As Belkin noted of Rubens's copies and adaptations of the works of other artists, he also exhibited a tendency in this earliest period to harvest motifs or narrative moments from other compositions, shift their focus, and breathe into them new life.[161]

Yet, Rubens's graphic approach also evolved substantially during the first two decades of the seventeenth century. Shifts in the ways Rubens drew from his earliest Antwerp to his Rome period shaped and transformed his mature art for the rest of his career. For one, he took a more flexible approach to style, his models, and even his use of graphic mediums. He may have even used chalk (not commonly available in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century) and color in his drawings for the first time in Italy.[162] Overall, the scale of his drawings also seems to have become larger, with paper supports sometimes measuring upwards of 12 × 16 inches. In many cases, his pen-and-ink drawing style appears quicker, rougher, and more open to visible corrections, in contrast to the slower, more careful linear style that characterizes his earliest extant drawings, such as his studies after Tobias Stimmer (Plate 1). Such loose pen-and-ink sketches (*schizzi*) have been linked to his brother Philip's visit to Rome.[163]

Some contemporaries complained of Rubens's drawing style, especially after his Roman period, as unelegant and awkward. According to his antiquarian friend Peiresc in a letter dated December 1, 1622, Rubens was criticized for the curving, bowed legs and figural proportions in his *History of Constantine* cartoons. Peiresc added that these were either viewed as a "defect" of faulty draftsmanship or a stylistic "peculiarity."[164] Critiques of Rubens's drawing style were repeated in late seventeenth-century France, including by Roger de Piles who graded Rubens's skills in *dessein* ("13") lower than composition ("18") and *coloris* ("17") in the *Cours de peinture* (Paris, 1708).[165] Nonetheless, in other cases, as in his study of *Saints Gregory, Domitilla, Maurus and Papianus*, 1608 (Montpellier, Musée Fabre),[166] the artist evidenced his sure and graceful hand through pen and delicate washes, suggesting these labored effects were deliberate and not the mark of an inexperienced or untalented draftsman lacking sure command of his graphic medium. His drawings from this period also became increasingly erudite and conceptually minded. As in the cases of the *Drawings after Raphael and Holbein*, 1600–03 (Plate 13) and *Venus Lamenting Adonis* (Plate 14), his drawings sometimes included related inscriptions in his hand, usually in Latin, and were often drawn from an astounding mix of classical and classically inspired textual and visual models, supplemented by Rubens's own inventions. As the many drawings after the Belvedere Torso, the Farnese Hercules, and the Laocoön demonstrate, Rubens increasingly focused in Rome on the sculptural male nude as a primary subject of his studies.

Rubens also drew prolifically during his Roman period, with his drawings growing significantly more varied in subject and style, and complex in imitative approach and content. He occasionally cut and pasted various copied figures onto one sheet, adding details that further supported a new, original composition. At times, these changes supported a new narrative arrangement, as in the *Battle of Nude Men* after Barthel Beham, c. 1600 (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art; Figure 1.7).[167] At other times, as in *Drawings after Raphael and Holbein*, 1600–03 (Plate 13), he disposed his figures such that they bore an ambiguous, though allusive, relationship to one another, often through similar gesture or theme. In this case, he mentally cut and



Figure 1.7 Peter Paul Rubens, *Battle of Nude Men*, c. 1600, pen and brown ink over black chalk on three irregularly cut sheets of buff laid paper, 141 × 252 mm. Credit: Julius S. Held Collection, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund. Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

pasted the individual studies, drawing them on one sheet in an entirely new arrangement. In drawings like the *Israelites Wrestling with Giant Snakes* after Michelangelo, c. 1607 (London, British Museum; Plate 11), he cut apart other artists' drawings, and then "rearranged the figures over a larger surface, altering details and filling in where necessary to complete figures or motifs."[168] His title page and book illustrations from the period, including his title page design for Lipsius's 1605 edition of Seneca's *Opera Omnia* (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum; Figure 1.6), show his growing penchant for complex allegory. Other figural drawings, such as his *Paduan Lion* and *Two Studies of a Boy after the Spinario*, c. 1601–02 (London, British Museum),[169] demonstrate his concern for enlivening and updating antique sculpture and his increasing concern for observing and translating knowledge gained through the senses from his immediate surroundings. As De Piles wrote in *Lives of the Painters*, Rubens "was so strongly persuaded that the aim of the painter was to imitate nature perfectly that he did nothing without consulting her . . . And he carried this knowledge so far, with a bold but wise and skillful exaggeration of these characteristics, that he rendered painting more alive and more natural, so to speak, than nature herself."[170]

In other drawings, including his *Death of Dido*, 1600–03 (Brunswick, ME, Bowdoin College Museum of Art; Figure 3.9) and *Medea* drawings, Rubens also looked to classical texts such as Lipsius's edition of Seneca's tragedies for inspiration. Reflected also in much later sheets like his retouched counterproofs after Michelangelo's *Ignudo*, c. 1630–33 (London, British Museum),[171] he often recast the form and style of his model in a markedly personal idiom, demonstrating his easy willingness to deviate from his source. Rubens's *Studies of Women after Titian*, 1628 (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum),[172] carefully sketched in red and black chalk

after select figures of similar type from Titian's *poesie* paintings, suggests the classifying and assimilating impulse he first learned in Antwerp and later honed in Italy and continued throughout his career. As Jeffrey Muller has argued, "[Rubens's] copies, adaptations, and transformations of earlier art implement the process of choice, judgment, and synthesis outlined by Quintilian and Seneca."[173] Rubens actively engaged in all of the most important and difficult forms of Renaissance imitation already by his Italian period, including *translatio*, *imitatio*, and *aemulatio*,[174] thus suggesting that his approach to imitation also became not only increasingly complex, but also increasingly fluent and habitual.

Rubens also first significantly flexed his intellectual muscles in drawing in Rome. During his formative period, Rubens drew numerous works of his own invention as well as theoretically minded sketches, often inspired by a mixture of classical texts, art, and his own imagination, usually on single sheets. One of his best-known and most important productions on this front was his so-called Pocketbook (or small notebook) of drawings and theoretical notes famously mentioned by his early biographer Giovanni Pietro Bellori in his 1672 *Vite*.[175] Lost with the exception of a few surviving sheets in the devastating Boulle fire in Paris in 1720, this small sketchbook contained a variety of inquiries inspired in form and content by Leonardo's small theoretical notebooks created a century earlier, including Leonardo's Manuscript A (Paris, Institut de France). Referring to the Pocketbook, Bellori described "a book by [Rubens] that contains observations about optics, symmetry, proportion, anatomy, architecture, and a study of the principal *affetti* and actions drawing from the descriptions by poets."[176] In his *Lives of the Painters*, André Félibien (1619–95) added that Rubens's book was both "well known" and "written and illustrated by his hand."[177] De Piles also referred to the notebook, describing it as "a singular study of the principal passions of the soul and of the actions drawn from some descriptions made by the poets."[178] These accounts suggest that some of Rubens's primary graphic concerns of the period related to classically inspired interest in the human body, narrative concerns, eliciting the passions of the soul, and exploring the reaches of humanist knowledge (*scientia*). Rubens's Pocketbook owed an enormous debt to Leonardo da Vinci and his drawings, theoretical notes, and small notebooks created a century earlier. De Piles, for one, mentioned Rubens's keen interest in Leonardo's drawings.[179] In the tradition of Leonardo's planned anatomical and botanical treatises, Rubens also wrote a lost treatise on the human figure (*De figuris humanis*),[180] and an anatomy book (*annatomibock*) also likely based in part on Vesalius's *Opera Anatomica* (Basel, 1555): a copy of the latter is listed in the sales catalogue for Rubens's son Albert's library.[181] Leonardo's anatomical studies, especially the ones that now form the heart of the Windsor Collection, also informed his approach to human anatomy. Rubens likely studied these works in 1603 during his first diplomatic visit to Spain while they were in the collection of the Spanish sculptor Pompeo Leoni (1533–1608).[182] Evidence for Rubens's direct borrowings from Leonardo in the realm of anatomy may be found in Pierre Aveline's engravings of Rubens's designs in the eighteenth-century French translation of Rubens's figural treatise entitled *La Théorie de la Figure Humaine*, published by Charles Antoine Jombert (Paris, 1778).[183]

A handful of extant folios from Rubens's destroyed Pocketbook graphically bear out some of his theoretical concerns. One such sheet from the MS Johnson explores the geometric, and especially cubic, basis of Rubens's studies of the Farnese Hercules (London, Courtauld Institute; Plates 35, 36). Another extant sheet, *Drawings after*

Raphael and Holbein (Plate 13), illustrates Rubens's concern for intense emotional and physical agitation through gesticulations and facial expressions as likely inspired by Lomazzo's discussion of emotional states in his *Trattato* of 1584.[184] Rubens added a classically inspired Latin inscription on the drawing – "He stood pale, like one stunned, made wordless by fear" – that provides the key to an underlying idea, or argument, of the sheet. According to Held, he derived the text from Quintus Curtius Rufus's *History of Alexander the Great* (VII.2) using it as inspiration for his theme of "extreme mental agitation, whether [it is] profound fear or anguish."[185] Other early drawings, including *Three Sketches for Medea and Her Children* (Plate 15) and *Venus Lamenting Adonis* (Plate 14), also feature inscriptions in Rubens's Latin hand that similarly allude to complex ideas located in what otherwise seem to be simple sketches. In the case of *Venus Lamenting Adonis*, Rubens added the inscription "Spiritum morientis excipit ore" (She draws out the soul of the dying with her mouth), which may have in part relied on Bion's Greek verse, possibly known through a Latin translation, in which Venus tries to suck the breath of the dying Adonis with her kiss.[186] In short, the inventive expression of underlying *themes* proved central to Rubens's drawing practice, especially during and after his return from Italy.[187] According to Justus Müller Hofstede, Rubens relied on thematic "raw material" (*Rohmaterial*), inventively drawing from multiple models of emulation, often alongside related inscriptions, to express a common action or theme.[188]

In keeping with such graphic rhetorical concerns, Rubens also employed classically inspired strategies including the use of figural types to generate thematic content. For example, Rubens often relied on pictorial *topoi*, or "hybrid figures": a common means since antiquity for endowing otherwise dissimilar subjects with similar concepts.[189] In his *Descent from the Cross*, c. 1602 (St. Petersburg, Hermitage),[190] for example, he treated Christ like a classical dying Niobid as a way to underscore the pathos of his subject.[191] He also drew inspiration from Michelangelo who used the hanging arm in his own evocative studies of the dead Christ, including in his early marble *Pietà* from 1499 (Rome, Vatican).

Rubens's interest in the underlying concept of his designs is also evident in his attention to decorum in his choice of models for his subjects. One of his strategies seems to have involved using particularly *apt* and *specific* metaphors and models to lead viewers to discovering their greater point on their own, and by extension, to seeing the world through his eyes. This approach bears some similarity to pedagogical methods found in Francis Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* (1605) wherein pupils were advised to start with a specific phenomenon and then work backwards toward general principles as a means of giving them the impression of discovering something new.[192] As the late drawings theorist Philip Rawson argued, Rubens's "graphic types" are particularly potent because they "represent the assemblage of basic forms which, because of their analogy with other forms of experience on a similar scale, will evoke chains of associated memories and responses . . . [and] synthesize emotional meanings which are beyond the reach of words."[193] In Rawson's view, such "graphic constructs" are designed to elicit and structure recognition of features in the visual world, thus constituting potent forms of analogy and metaphor holding the potential to encourage viewers to see the world *through* their types.[194] Similar analogical concerns extended to Rubens's writing of personal epistles as well. In one instance, Rubens wrote of his shame, to the French antiquarian Pierre Dupuy, for not finding a suitable subject to exemplify his theme of "a widower sad and faithful *in conjugii memoria*," despite

consulting a number of classical and modern authors, such as Valerius, Pliny, Fulgosius, and Lipsius. In his correspondence to Dupuy, he wrote: "I am ashamed of my sterility of invention, at not being able to find subjects more fitting for the themes of the pictures you asked for."[195] Demonstrating his propensity to think in terms of the relative suitability of putative subject to content, and his love of lively, memorable exemplars, Rubens concluded that no prior examples, not even Lipsius's example of a brave Moor who rescued his wife from the Portuguese, quite matched the subject he proposed.[196]

Rubens's commitments to pictorial rhetoric and humanist eloquence also seem to have first significantly manifested themselves in early drawings when he was most under Lipsius's philosophical sway. His often complex, allegorical title page designs hint at wider preoccupations with expressing recondite subject matter through invention and a judicious use of pictorial allegory and classical allusions, as well as to praising many of his most esteemed models, here including Lipsius, Seneca, and Tacitus. In some cases, Rubens used these graphic demonstrations to express unseen, internal qualities, as in the case when he redrew the portrait of Lipsius for the 1615 *Opera Omnia* title page in order to more vividly express his character, notably his "lively, forceful, and fiery" intellect (London, British Museum; Plate 10).[197] Referring to this design, Balthasar Moretus praised him for his judicious and elegant rendering of Lipsius as "the most eloquent interpreter of [that] wisdom" and "the image of all ancient learning."[198] In his preface to the 1615 edition, Moretus wrote:

> I wish that you be edified and delighted by the Lipsius portrait which is prefixed to the title of Seneca's work. Rubens drew it no less faithfully than elegantly not only according to his own judgment but also that of several other admirers of Lipsius, embellishing it with the most appropriate decoration symbolizing Prudence and Learning. For he believed with me that it was not fitting to make a great effort on the picture of the old sage while neglecting the image of the most eloquent interpreter of that wisdom. Therefore, refreshed by the most pleasant sight of the dignified face let yourself be excited to view the immortal monuments of divine genius and embrace in them willingly the image of all ancient learning and good wisdom, and farewell again.[199]

Later, Rubens praised one of his own allegorical designs on rhetorical grounds. Following the completion of his decorations for Archduke Ferdinand's 1634 triumphal entry into Antwerp, he expressed obvious satisfaction in his final product, writing to his friend Peiresc, "I believe that you would not be displeased at the invention and variety of the subjects, the novelty of the designs, and the fitness of their application."[200]

In many ways, Rubens's approach to drawing in this period might be summarized in his brief Latin treatise penned in Rome, *De Imitatione Statuarum* (On the Imitation of Antique Statuary), dated to his earliest years there. In this short, but incredibly rich, text, known through De Piles's French translation in the *Cours de peinture*, Rubens intimated a clear desire to return to a robust art of the ancients, best achieved through vigorous exercise and the intelligent use of the best models, supplemented by observations from nature.[201] He argued that the best art avoided the use of common models that he deemed "useless, even harmful" for lesser artists and confusing the "accidents" of sculpture's stone matter from the underlying intelligence

(form) of his models.[202] Separating the concepts of "matter from form," and "stone from figure," he drew Aristotelian distinctions between the physical materials of art and the underlying idea or universal intelligence that best guided it.[203] Using the Farnese Hercules as his exemplar and Quintilian's metaphor of extreme male vigor for the ideal form of robust oratory, he distinguished the sculpture's underlying content inspired by robust, male strength and vigor, from its hard, lifeless stone medium.[204]

Warning painters against imitating the cold, lustrous surfaces of their sculptural models, Rubens championed the "enlivening" of his classical models: a time-honored rhetorical aim grounded in Quintilian and the perfecting power of *Ars* to produce figures that surpassed Nature by persuasively appearing more than lifelike. Justus Lipsius's highly influential, contemporary recasting of the Aristotelian distinction between form and matter in Lipsius's *Physiologia Stoicorum*, published by the Plantin Press in Leiden in 1604, may have also contributed to the content and timing of Rubens's essay. In *De Imitatione*, Rubens further railed against childlike, slavish imitation (implicitly, of the sort that characterized the copied drawings of apprentices), and instead promoted a more intellectually bound (read: mature) art – grounded in a daily *praxis*, or exercise, like drawing – in which matter would be united with form through artistic exercise, selective imitation, innate wit (*ingenium*), and keen judgment (*judicio*). Again, he drew inspiration from Quintilian's idea of eloquent, robust oratory and his advice on imitative eclecticism: in Quintilian's words, "to keep a number of different excellences before our eyes, so that different qualities from different authors may impress themselves on our minds, to be adopted for use in the place that becomes them best."[205]

In the end, Rubens's invocation of Hieronymus Mercurialis's (1530–1606) *De Arte Gymnastica Libri Sex* (1569; first illustrated 1573),[206] and the virtues of classical, well-exercised bodies in his Imitation treatise – discussed in the context of his worries about the laziness of his contemporaries – lays bare his metaphoric aspirations for both a substance-bound art and artistic exercise, presumably through a more mature, robust approach to art, especially drawing. Through regular exercise, and imbibing the intellectual food of the ancients without slavishly copying them, the erudite Rubens seems to have desperately wanted to return what he saw as the body of art to robust health, and thus to good social purpose. In this substantial effort, he arguably looked to expand the Lipsian-inspired, Roman language of eloquence into the visual sphere – just as Lipsius and Rubens arguably sought to do in the realm of writing personal letters to studied humanist friends and colleagues – including through the intimate, foundational practice of drawing. To achieve such eloquence, as we will now see, Rubens – like Lipsius – looked to both a Senecan variety of new and excellent models of imitation, and to the qualitative and expressive potential of style, or matter, to lead the way.

Notes

1 Rubens described the content of the painting in these terms in his famous letter to Justus Sustermans, 12 March 1638; Magurn, *Letters*, no. 242. For a discussion of the letter, see Lisa Rosenthal, *Gender, Politics, and Allegory in the Art of Rubens* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), esp. 88–92. On problems of interpretation in painting, see also Anthony Hughes, "Naming the Unnamable: An Iconographical Problem in Rubens's 'Peace and War,'" *Burlington Magazine* 122 (1980): 157–65.

2 For more on the Dutch Revolt (c. 1568–1648) and its aftermath, see Graham Darby, ed., *The Origins and Development of the Dutch Revolt* (London: Routledge, 2001); Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World* (London: Clarendon Press, 1982); and Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1977).

3 Philipp P. Fehl, "Touchstones of Art and Art Criticism: Rubens and the Work of Franciscus Junius," *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 30, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 9.

4 On drawing in the Italian humanist workshop tradition, see Francis Ames-Lewis, *Drawing in Early Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981); Ames-Lewis and Joanne Wright, *Drawings in the Italian Renaissance Workshop* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1983); Carl Goldstein, *Academies and Schools from Vasari to Albers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Larry J. Feinberg and Karen-edis Barzman, *From Studio to Studiolo: Florentine Draftsmanship Under the First Medici Grand Dukes* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991); and Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State: The Discipline of Disegno* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

5 Some key sources on Rubens as a humanist artist concerned with classical rhetorical traditions include: Emil Kieser, "Antikes im Werke des Rubens," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 10 (1933): 110–37; Victor H. Miesel, "Rubens' Study Drawings after Ancient Sculpture," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 61 (May–June 1963): 311–26; Wolfgang Stechow, *Rubens and the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, published for Oberlin College, 1968); Leon Voet, *Het Belgische Humanisme na Erasmus. Het geestesleven in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden ten tijde van Plantin en Rubens*, exh. cat. (Antwerp: Museum Plantin-Moretus, 1969); John Rupert Martin, ed., *Rubens before 1620* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972); Marjon van der Meulen, "Rubens and the Antique Sculpture Collections in Rome," *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis* 24 (1976–78): 147–58; Michael Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977); John David Farmer, *Rubens and Humanism*, exh. cat. (Birmingham, AL: Birmingham Museum of Art, 1978); Lisa Vergara, *Rubens and the Poetics of Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982); Mark Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Peter C. Sutton (with contributions by Marjorie E. Wieseman et al.), *The Age of Rubens*, exh. cat. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1993); Svetlana Alpers, *The Making of Rubens* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Ulrich Heinen, "Haut und Knocken – Fleisch und Blot: Rubens' Affektmalerei," in *Rubens passioni: Kultur des Leidenschaft im Barock*, eds. Ulrich Heinen and Andreas Thielemann (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 2001), 70–109; and Aneta Georgievska-Shine, *Rubens and the Archaeology of Myth, 1610–1620* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Press, 2009). The many volumes of the *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard* (hereafter cited as CRLB) are indispensable. See, for example, Wolfgang Adler, *Landscapes and Hunting Scenes*, CRLB, pt. 18, vol. 1 (London: Harvey Miller, 1982); Svetlana Alpers, *The Decoration of the Torre de la Parada*, CRLB, pt. 9 (London: Phaidon Press, 1971); Arnout Balis, *Rubens Hunting Scenes*, CRLB, pt. 18, vol. 2 (London: Harvey Miller, 1986); Marjon van der Meulen, *Copies After the Antique*, ed. Arnout Balis, CRLB, pt. 23, 3 vols. (London: Harvey Miller, 1994–95); and Elizabeth McGrath, *Rubens: Subjects from History*, CRLB, pt. 13, 2 vols. (London: Harvey Miller, 1997).

6 As another key source on Rubens as a humanist artist, Müller Hofstede first suggested the connection between Rubens's work and the Horatian tradition of *ut pictura poesis* as expressed by Rensselaer Lee in Justus Müller Hofstede, "'*Ut Pictura Poesis*': Rubens und die Humanistische Kunsttheorie," *Gentse bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis* 24 (1976–78): 171–89, as noted by Jeffrey M. Muller, "Rubens's Theory and Practice of the Imitation of Art," *Art Bulletin* 64, no. 2 (1982): 229, under n. 1. See also Rensselaer W. Lee, "*Ut Pictura Poesis*: The Humanistic Theory of Painting," *Art Bulletin* 22, no. 4 (1940): 197–269; Paul Oskar Kristeller, "The Modern System of the Arts: A Study in the History of Aesthetics (Part I)," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 12, no. 4 (1951): 496–527; Allan Ellenius, *De Arte Pigendi: Latin Art Literature in 17th c. Sweden and its International Background* (Uppsala/Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1960); and Philipp P. Fehl, "Poetry and the Entry of the Fine Arts into England: Ut pictura poesis,"

in *The Age of Milton*, eds. Constantinos A. Patrides and Raymond Waddington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), 273–306. On the practical implications of *ut pictura poesis* for early seventeenth-century Flemish picturing, see Franciscus Junius, *The Literature of Classical Art: The Painting of the Ancients* (*De Pictura Veterum*, 1638), edS. Keith Aldrich, Philipp Fehl, and Raina Fehl, vol. 1 (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), I.iv.2 and III.vii.2; and Appendix IV ("Affinitie between the Arts"). On the affinity between poetry and the visual arts in Junius, see Colette Nativel, "La comparaison entre la peinture et la poésie dans le *De pictura veterum* (I, 4) de Franciscus Junius," *Word and Image* 4, no. 1 (1988): 323–30; and Nativel, "La rhétorique au service de l'art: éducation oratoire et éducation de l'art selon Franciscus Junius," *XVIIe Siècle* 39 (1987): 385–94.

7 For Rubens as diplomat, see C.V. Wedgwood, *The Political Career of Peter Paul Rubens* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1975).

8 Rooses and Ruelens, *CDR*, vol. 2, 4; cited in Peter C. Sutton and Marjorie Wieseman (with Nico van Hout), *Drawn by the Brush: Oil Sketches by Peter Paul Rubens* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 18.

9 Chifflet to Moretus, 6 June 1640; Rooses and Ruelens, *CDR*, vol. 4, 3. In a much earlier letter to Rubens's brother Philip, dated 3 November 1600, Moretus (who knew the artist from school) also remarked on his unusual intellect. Discussed by Max Rooses, *Rubens*, trans. Harold Child, vol. 1 (London: Duckworth, 1904), 28 and under n. 2. For more on Moretus and Rubens, see Max Rooses, "Petrus Paulus Rubens en Balthasar Moretus," in Max Rooses and Charles Ruelens, *Rubens-Bulletijn. Jaarboeken der ambetelijke commissie ingesteld door den gemmeteraad der Stad Antwerpen voor het uitgeven der bescheiden betrekkelijk het leven en de werken van Rubens* 1 (1882): 203–19.

10 De Piles, *Abrégé de la vie des peintres* (Paris: de Sercy, 1699), 399–400. For Rubens's knowledge of languages, see also Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics*, 187, and under n. 29. Based on the presence of Greek books in his private collection, Rubens may have attempted to learn Greek later in the second decade of the seventeenth century; McGrath, *Subjects from History*, vol. 1, 63.

11 Letter from Rubens to Franciscus Junius [1637], as translated in Charles Harrison, Paul Wood, and Jason Gaiger, eds., *Art in Theory: 1648–1815: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (London: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 29.

12 For Rubens's library, see Marcus de Schepper, *Een hart voor boeken: Rubens en zijn bibliotheek*, exh. cat. (Antwerp: Museum Plantin-Moretus/Prentenkabinet, 2004); and Sigrid van Hoyningen-Huene MacRae, "Rubens' Library" (Master's thesis, Columbia University, 1971). On Rubens's antiquarian interests, see especially Van der Meulen's section on "Rubens as an Antiquarian Artist," in *Copies after the Antique*, vol. 1, 113–28.

13 Amy Golhany, "Rubens's 'Hero and Leander' and Its Poetic Progeny," *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* (1990): 20–37, esp. 34, under n. 8.

14 Rooses, *Rubens*, vol. 1, 315–16. This account is based in Philip Rubens's (1611–78) early biography of his uncle in his *Vita Rubenii*, MS 5726 (Brussels, Royal Library). Philip's biography, which Roger de Piles later obtained, also directly informed De Piles's "La Vie de Rubens" which he first published in *Conversations sur la Connoissance de la Peinture* (Paris: Nicolas Langlois, 1677), and again as an appendix in his *Dissertation sur les Ouvrages des Plus Fameux Peintres* (Paris: Nicolas Langlois, 1681; Geneva: Minkoff Reprint, 1973). It was later published by Baron de Reiffenberg in *Mémoires de l'Académie de Belgique*, vol. 10 (Brussels, 1837); and Rooses and Ruelens, *CDR*, vol. 2, 156. For a discussion of the Sperling encounter, see also Logan, "Rubens as a Teacher," 250, and under ns. 27–28.

15 Some important sources on Rubens's humanist approach to drawing include Leo van Puyvelde, *Les Esquisses de Rubens* (Basel, 1940); Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1959 and 1986; Burchard and d'Hulst, *Rubens Drawings*; Hans Mielke and Matthias Winner, *Peter Paul Rubens: Kritischer Katalog der Zeichnungen* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1977); Justus Müller Hofstede, "Rubens und die niederländische Italienfahrt: Die humanistische Tradition," in *Peter Paul Rubens 1577–1640: Katalog I. Rubens in Italien. Gemälde, Ölskizzen, Zeichnungen* (Cologne: Wallraf-Richartz-Museums, 1977),

21–37; Müller Hofstede, "*Ut Pictura Poesis*"; Jeffrey M. Muller, "Theory and Practice of Imitation"; Muller, *Rubens: The Artist as Collector* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); *Rubens Cantoor. Een verzameling tekeningen ontstaan in Rubens' atelier*, ed. Hans Nieuwdorp, exh. cat. (Antwerp: Rubenshuis; Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1993); Jeremy Wood, *Rubens: Drawing on Italy* (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 2002); and Logan, *The Drawings*.

16 Cabinet des Dessins; inv. 20.187. Discussed in Frits Lugt, *Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du Nord*, *École flamande*, vol. 2 (Paris: Éditions des musées nationaux, Palais du Louvre, 1949), no. 1009; and Arlette Sérullaz, *Rubens, ses maîtres, ses élèves: dessins du musée du Louvre*, exh. cat. (Paris: Éditions des musées nationaux, 1978), no. 4.

17 See especially Ames-Lewis, *Drawing in Early Renaissance Italy*, for more on this subject.

18 Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics*; Rosenthal, *Gender, Politics, and Allegory*; and Vergara, *Rubens and the Poetics of Landscape*.

19 See, for example, Ulrich Heinen, *Rubens zwischen Predigt und Kunst: Der Hochaltar Für Die Walburgenkirche in Antwerpen* (Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 1996); Frans Baudouin, "Altars and Altarpieces before 1620," in *Rubens before 1620*, ed. Martin, 45–91; and John Rupert Martin, ed., *Rubens: The Antwerp Altarpieces, The Raising of the Cross and the Descent from the Cross*, Norton Critical Studies in Art History (New York: W.W. Norton, 1969).

20 Rubens to Sustermans, Antwerp, 12 March 1638; Magurn, *Letters*, no. 242.

21 Rubens to Peiresc, Paris, 13 May 1625; ibid., no. 62. On such dissimulation in this commission, and in the larger social context, see Sara Galletti, "Rubens's Life of Maria de' Medici: Dissimulation and the Politics of Art in Early Seventeenth-Century France," *Renaissance Quarterly* 67 (2014): 878–916; and Jon R. Snyder, *Dissimulation and the Culture of Secrecy in Early Modern Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

22 These statues are illustrated in early engravings of Rubens's home and studio on the Wapper designed by Jacob Harrewijn. For their connection to Rubens's Antwerp villa, and to the marriage of Eloquence (Mercury) and Wisdom (Minerva) in his art, Van der Meulen, *Petrus Paulus Rubens Antiquarius*; McGrath, "Painted Decoration," 251, 275–76; and Jeffrey M. Muller, "Rubens's Collection in History," in Kristin Lohse Belkin and Fiona Healy, *A House of Art. Rubens as Collector*, exh. cat. (Antwerp: Rubenshuis, 2004), 38. On the iconography of the Hermathena, see Hansoon Lee, *Kunsttheorie in der Kunst: Studien zur Ikonographie von Minerva, Merkur and Apollo im 16. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996), 105–35.

23 Rubens mentioned the works of Pliny's Apelles and Timanthes as worthy models in his August 1, 1637 letter to Junius. Magurn, *Letters*, no. 241. For the impact of these models on the decorative scheme of his palazzo on the Wapper, see McGrath, "Painted Decoration," 259–68. According to McGrath, Rubens knew more Roman copies than Greek models, however. On the importance of Roman models in Rubens's work, see also Emil Kieser, "Antikes im Werke des Rubens," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 10 (1933): 126.

24 Flemish painter Bartolomeus Spranger (1546–1611) earlier depicted Minerva as the patron of artists and even gave her the attribute of the Guild of St. Luke. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "The Eloquent Artist: Towards an Understanding of the Stylistics of Painting at the Court of Rudolf II," *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* (1982): 124.

25 Rubens's inscription on his design for *Poetry and Virtue* clearly identifies the two figures as the joining of Mercury and Minerva in the Hermathena: "Habes hic Musam sive Poesim Cum Minerva seu Virtute forma Hermatenis Coniunctam nam musam pro Mercurio apposui quod pluribus exemplis licet nescio an tibi meum Commentum placebit ego certe mihi hoc Invento valde place(o) ne dicam gratulor." Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1959, vol. 1, no. 153. For the Banqueting Hall example, see Elizabeth McGrath, "Rubens's Musathena," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 50 (1987): 233–45.

26 Kaufmann, "The Eloquent Artist."

27 Ibid., esp. 123–27; see also Kaufmann, *Drawings from the Holy Roman Empire, 1540–1680: A Selection from North American Collections*, exh. cat. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 23. For painting as a liberal art in the humanist tradition, see

also Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy 1450–1600* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940); and Rudolf Wittkower, *The Artist and the Liberal Arts* (London: University College London/H.K. Lewis, 1952).

28 Justus Lipsius, *Ivsti Lipsi epistolae*, eds. A. Gerlo, M.A. Nauwelaerts, and H.D.L. Vervliet, vol. 1 (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren, en Schone Kunsten van Belgie, 1978), 202, lines 174–75.

29 Zirka Z. Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp 1550–1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 86.

30 Hannah Gray, "Renaissance Humanism: The Pursuit of Eloquence," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 24, no. 4 (1963): 497–514.

31 For Quintilian's ideas on imitation, see *Institutio Oratoria* (hereafter cited as *Inst. Orat.*), trans. H.E. Butler. Loeb Classical Library, vol. 4 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963) esp. Books X (subject matter), XI (style) and XII (moral content).

32 Quintilian defined style in the rhetorical terms of clarity (*perspicuitas*), ornament, amplification, and tropes (*Inst. Orat.*, VIII), and in terms of figures of thought and speech (IX).

33 Rubens may have seen the English version of Junius's *De Pictura Veterum* (London, 1638) at Thomas Howard, the second Earl of Arundel's house. For Rubens's original letter in Latin and Flemish to Junius praising the work, dated August 1637, see British Library, MS 4935 (Bibliotheca Harleiana, epistolarum clarissimorum viorurum collectio, III, 42). For an English translation of Rubens's praise of Junius's volume on the occasion of the first printing of *De Pictura Veterum*, see Harrison et al., *Art in Theory*, 28–29. For Junius's antiquarianism, see Thijs Weststeijn, *Art and Antiquity in the Netherlands and Britain: Vernacular Arcadia of Franciscus Junius* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

34 Fehl, "Touchstones of Art," 9.

35 Ibid., 20–22.

36 Michiel C. Plomp, "Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) and Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641): Works on Paper," Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), accessed December 15, 2014: http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/rvd_d/hd_rvd_d.htm.

37 For Rubens's art collection and the *Specification*, see Muller, *Artist as Collector*, and more recently, Belkin and Healy, *A House of Art*.

38 Rubens's numerous retouched drawings often involved the work of Italian artists. However, he also widely retouched the works of German and Netherlandish artists including Cornelis Bos, Bernard van Orley, Pieter Coecke van Aelst, and others. Some of these have recently been discussed, respectively, by Jeremy Wood, *Rubens. Copies and Adaptions from the Renaissance and Later Artists: Italian Artists. Raphael and His School*, CRLB, pt. 26, no. 2, 2 vols. (London: Harvey Miller, 2010); and Belkin, *Copies and Adaptions: German and Netherlandish Artists*.

39 Renaissance theories of imitation and dissimulation as well as the notions of surpassing the model and competition as key components of creativity are rooted in antique ideals, such as those proposed by Quintilian in his *Institutio Oratoria*. For the distinction between the two, and their levels of implicit criticism, see George W. Pigman III, "Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance." *Renaissance Quarterly* 33, no. 1 (1980): 17, 22–26. For the dating of Rubens's retouched drawings, see Jeffrey Chipps Smith, review of *Copies and Adaptations* by Kristin Belkin, *Historians of Netherlandish Art News* (2011), accessed January 31, 2015: http://www.hnanews.org/archive/2011/11/vlade1.html.

40 De Piles, *Conversations*, 1677, 218; as translated in Logan, "Peter Paul Rubens as a Draftsman," in Logan, *The Drawings*, 16 and under n. 54. See also Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, 48.

41 For the 1657 dispersal of the drawings made and collected by Rubens, see Max Rooses, "Staet ende inventaris van den sterffhuyse van Mynheer Albertus Rubens ende Vrouwe Clara del Monte," *Rubens Bulletijn* 5 (1897): 56f. For the sale to Jabach, see *Abecedario de P.J. Mariette*, eds. Ph. de Chennevières and A. de Montaiglon, vol. 5 (Paris: J. B. Dumoulin, 1858–59), 69–70; and Muller, *Artist as Collector*, 79. Plomp also discusses the dispersal in "Collecting Rubens's Drawings."

42 Vasari's *Libro de' disegni* testifies to the importance of drawings collections in humanist circles already by the sixteenth century in Italy. The drawings in Vasari's collection were "chosen to illustrate the styles of the artists whose lives he was writing." Liana de Girolami Cheney, *Giorgio Vasari's Teachers: Sacred & Profane Art* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 250, under n. 10. For Vasari's *Libro*, see also L. Collobi Ragghianti, *Vasari Libro de' Disegni* (Milan: Architettura, 1973), and Per Bjurström, *Italian Drawings from the Collection of Giorgio Vasari* (Stockholm: National Museum, 2001). Raphael was among the first to cultivate the recognition of talent and his own *ingegno* through drawing. Patricia Rubin, "Answering to Names: The Case of Raphael's Drawings," *Word and Image* 7, no. 1 (January–March 1991): 39. For the growing appreciation and collection of drawings in early modern Europe, see Julius S. Held, "The Early Appreciation of Drawings," in *Latin American Art, and the Baroque Period in Europe. Studies in Western Art, Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art*, vol. 3 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), esp. 84–91.

43 Inv. 40.91.12; as discussed in Elizabeth McGrath, "'The Drunken Alcibiades': Rubens's Picture of Plato's *Symposium*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 46 (1983): 231, 234.

44 Rubens's large and complex workshop consisted of the master and other assistants, pupils, journeymen, and independent masters already admitted into the Guild of St. Luke. According to Arnout Balis, the relationships between these "players" are still not altogether fully understood. On the division of labor in Rubens's studio, see Balis, "Rubens and his Studio," 36–40. Balis also notes a letter, dated 1611, in which Rubens claimed to have had to reject more than a hundred would-be pupils into his studio. Ibid., 36.

45 Paul Huvenne, "On Rubens' Cantoor, Panneels and the Copenhagen Cantoor Drawings," in *Rubens Cantoor: een verzameling tekeningen ontstaan in Rubens' atelier*, ed. Hans Nieuwdorp, exh. cat. (Antwerp: Rubenshuis; Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1993), 16–18.

46 According to Plomp, there may have been instances when pupils or followers retouched or "finished" Rubens's drawings. "Collecting Rubens's Drawings," 52–53.

47 Logan, "Peter Paul Rubens as a Draftsman," in Logan, *The Drawings*, 3.

48 On Rubens's interest in protecting his designs, see Paul Huvenne and Nico van Hout, *Copyright Rubens: Rubens en de grafiek*, exh. cat. (Antwerp/Ghent: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 2004). For privileges in the Antwerp literary sphere, see *Rubens and the Book: Title Pages by Peter Paul Rubens*, ed. Julius S. Held (Williamstown, MA: Prepared by students in the Williams College Graduate Program in the History of Art, Williams College, 1977), esp. 180–83.

49 Huvenne, "On Rubens' Cantoor," 16–18.

50 Ibid. There appear to have been two separate places where Rubens worked: one, the busier workshop space in his Antwerp villa on the Wapper (likely the one Sperling visited), and the other, a more private, intimate space upstairs where he stored his drawings and likely, at times, also drew and wrote personal letters. On Rubens's "private" space where he stored his most treasured items, including his drawings and oil sketches, see also Logan, "Peter Paul Rubens as a Draftsman," 5.

51 As Paula Findlen noted, there was a relationship between the early seventeenth-century domestic *studiolo* and early domestic spaces for intellectual study and housing treasured objects. She cites a will from Verona dated March 5, 1604: "[He] who delights in letters must not keep his books in the public study (*scrittorio commune*), but must have a *studiolo* apart, in the most remote corner of the house. It is best and healthy if it can be near the bedroom, so that one can more easily study." Paula Findlen, "The Museum: Its Classical Etymology and Renaissance Genealogy," in *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*, ed. Bettina Messias Carbonell (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 36.

52 Rubens to Lucas Fayd'herbe, Het Steen, 17 August 1638; Magurn, *Letters*, no. 244.

53 Ibid.

54 Balis, "Rubens and his Studio," 46.

55 Jan Garff and Eva de la Fuente Pedersen, *Rubens Cantoor: The Drawings of Willem Panneels. A Critical Catalogue*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen: Royal Museum of Fine Arts, 1988).

56 Edward J. Olszewski, introduction to Giovanni Battista Armenini, *On the True Precepts of the Art of Painting* [*De' veri precetti della Pittura*, 1586], ed. Olszewski, Renaissance Sources in Translation (New York: Burt Franklin & Co., 1977), 34.
57 Ames-Lewis, *Drawing in Early Renaissance Italy*, 12.
58 Leonardo, for example, passed many of his drawings and theoretical notes to his friend Francesco Melzi, who copied and organized many of his loose sheets in albums. Ibid., 12. Some of Raphael's drawings went to Giulio Romano and Gianfrancesco Penni. Patricia Lee Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 39.
59 P. Génard, "Het laatste testament van P.P. Rubens," *Rubens Bulletjin* 4 (1896): 139.
60 Most of the paintings, with the exception of some private sales (including the large lot that went to Philip IV of Spain), were auctioned off between March and April 1642. Muller, *The Artist as Collector*, 79. For the 1657 dispersal of the drawings, see Rooses, "Staet ende inventaris"; and Logan, *The Drawings*, 68–69, under no. 3.
61 On the central role of mental design in invention in early Renaissance artistic modern theory, see Erwin Panofsky, *Idea: A Concept in Art Theory*, trans. Joseph J.S. Peake (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1968).
62 Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura e scoltura ed architecttura* (Milan, 1584); see also *Scritti sulle arti*, ed. Roberto Paolo Ciardi, vol. 2 (Firenze: Marchi & Bertolli, 1974).
63 Ibid. For Rubens's early knowledge of Lomazzo's *Trattato*, see Müller Hofstede, "Rubens und die Kunstlehre, 50–52, 65, and under ns. 4, 6, 11. On the particular relevance of Lomazzo, Zuccaro, and Armenini to Rubens, see Muller, "Theory and Practice of Imitation," 233–34, 236, and 244 and under ns. 36, 42, and 101. For Rubens's knowledge of Armenini, see also G. Von Ravensburg, *Rubens und Die Antike* (Jena, 1882), 195–96.
64 Armenini/Olszweski, *True Precepts of the Art of Painting*, esp. 109–13. See also G.P. Lomazzo, *Idea of the Temple of Painting*, trans. Jean Julia Chai (College Park, PA: Penn State Press, 2013).
65 Armenini/Olszweski, *True Precepts of the Art of Painting*, 109–13.
66 Ibid.
67 Federico Zuccaro, *L'Idea de' pittori, scultori, et architetti* (Turin, 1607) in *Scritti d'Arte di Federico Zuccaro*, ed. Detlef Heikamp, Fonti per lo Studio della Storia dell'Arte, vol. 1 (Firenze: Leo. S. Olschki Editore, 1961), 149–305.
68 On Zuccaro's *disegno interno* and *disegno esterno* and their Aristotelian foundations: Zuccaro, *Idea*, I.2–3 and I.3, 40; and Panofsky, *Idea*, 85–93.
69 Zuccaro, *Idea*, I.3, 40. Panofsky added that this medium or "matter" could be "pictorial, plastic or architectural." *Idea*, 85.
70 Müller Hofstede illustrated the impact of Zuccaro's *Calumny of Apelles* design on Rubens's drawing of the same subject in these terms. "Rubens und die Kunstlehre," 63–65.
71 Jeffrey Muller noted, "Rubens discussed perception and the recall of visual images in the Aristotelian-rhetorical terms then generally accepted." "Theory and Practice of Imitation," 246.
72 Zuccaro, *Idea*, 88 and Armenini/Olszweski, *True Precepts*, 82–83, and under n. 1.
73 Wouk, "Frans Floris and *Disegno*," 47.
74 On the privileging of humanist approaches to design in the early modern Lowlands, including in Rubens's studio, see *Concept, Design, and Execution*, ed. Vlieghe et al.
75 On Van Veen's approach and the lessons he taught the young Rubens, see for example, Justus Müller Hofstede, "Zum Werke des Otto van Veen," *Bulletin Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 6 (1957): 127–73; and Müller Hofstede, "Zur Antwerp Frühzeit von P.P. Rubens," *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 13 (1962): 79–214.
76 Vlieghe, "Rubens's Atelier," 159.
77 Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, eds. Gaetano Milanesi, vol. 5 (Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1906), 528.
78 Ames-Lewis, *Drawing in Early Renaissance Italy*, 12.
79 Held, "Early Appreciation of Drawings," 84–85.
80 Hans Vlieghe, "Erasmus Quellinus and Rubens's Studio Practice," *Burlington Magazine* 119, no. 894 (1977): 636–39; and Filipczak, *Art in Antwerp*, 82–83, who noted how

Rubens increasingly decreased the amount of the labor he put into his paintings into the 1630s. See also Anne-Marie Logan's observation that Rubens was the "idea" man who invented the concepts for his title pages in the 1630s, but allowed studio assistants to carry out their execution. Anne-Marie Logan, "Review of Julius S. Held, *Rubens. Selected Drawings*," *Master Drawings* 2, no. 1 (1987): 79–80.

81 For Junius's notion of "Designe" and "Pattern" as idea, see Aldrich and Fehl, *Literature of Classical Art*, vol. 1, 373 and 399, under Appendix IV.

82 Inv. 20.221. Lugt, *Inventaire Général*, no. 1007, pl. 12; see also Held, *Oil Sketches*, vol. 1, 7.

83 In De Piles's words, "J'en ay veu un livre de sa main, où les demonstrations et les discours étoit ensemble . . . avec demonstrations à la plume après les meilleurs Maistres et principalement d'après Raphaël, pour faire valoir la Peinture des un par la Poësies des autres." As cited and translated in Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, 66.

84 Ibid.

85 In 1605, Philip Rubens wrote in gratitude to his brother "qui tum artifici manu, tum acri certoque iudicio non parum in Electis me iuvit." *Iusti Lipsi Electorum Libri II* (Antwerp and Leiden, 1605), 121–22; quoted in Rooses and Ruelens, *CDR*, vol. 1, 236–41. English translation by George Angell in Huemer, *Rubens and the Roman Circle*, 178, under Appendix I.

86 Edward Norgate, who requested such "first and sleight drawings of landskips" by Rubens (likely on behalf of Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel), highlighted this preference in his letter to William Trumball, dated December 3, 1619; Plomp, "Collecting Rubens's Drawings," 38, and under n. 8, and David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle*, Paul Mellon Studies in British Art (London: Yale University Press, 1985), 55 and 231, n. 3.

87 Antoine Joseph Dézallier d'Argenville, *Abrégé de la vie des peintres des plus fameux peintres* (Paris, 1745); as noted by Held, "Early Appreciation of Drawings," 89.

88 Ibid., 90.

89 Comte de Caylus, "Lecture on Drawings," delivered on June 7, 1732; in "Discours du Comte de Caylus sur les dessins," *Revue universelle des arts* 9 (1859): 316–43; as translated in Elizabeth Gilmore Holt, ed., *Michelangelo and the Mannerists, The Baroque and the Eighteenth Century: A Documentary History of Art*, vol. 2 (New York: Doubleday/Anchor, 1958), 322–28.

90 As mentioned earlier, De Piles first published Philip's biography of Rubens in his *Conversations*, 1677 and again in his *Dissertation*, 1681. For the notion of drawings as "first thoughts" ("on voit presqu'autant des petits Tableaux de sa main qu'il en a fait de grands, dont ils sont les premières pensées & les Esquisses . . ."), see ibid., 38–39.

91 P.J. Mariette, *Description Sommaire des Desseins des Grands Maistres d'Italie, des Pays-Bas et de France du Cabinet de Feu de M. Crozat* (Paris, 1741), nos. 821, 825, 94–95. Held, "Early Appreciation of Drawings," 84.

92 Rubens apparently copied Raphael's drawings widely. P.J. Mariette listed ten drawings in Crozat's collection by Rubens after Raphael, Polidor, Michelangelo, and Pordenone. Mariette, *Description Sommaire*, no. 810, 92. Raphael often sent cartoons and drawings to artists, collectors, and political figures, such as the Duke of Ferrara and Dürer, in self-promotion. Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History*, 39.

93 A number of such Rubens *crabbelinge* were listed in Erasmus Quellinus's inventory. J. Denucé, *De Antwerpsche "Konstkamers"; inventarissen van kunstverzamelingen te Antwerpen in de 16e en 17e eeuwen* (Amsterdam: De Spiegel, 1932), 285; and Filipczak, *Art in Antwerp*, 82, who called them "repeat performance[s] of the mind."

94 Junius, *Painting of the Ancients*, III.ii.12, Aldrich and Fehl, *Literature of Classical Art*, 239. Junius also discusses the "Studious Artificer" in *Painting of the Ancients*, II.xi.1–3, ibid., 171–75.

95 K. Jex-Blake and E. Sellers, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* (London, 1896), 168.

96 Caylus, "Lecture on Drawings," as cited in Holt, *Documentary History of Art*, vol. 2, 323.

97 Leo van Puyvelde added, "C'est parce que, dans ce travail si spontané, nous saissons sur le vif l'acte de création. Parce que, en tout contemplant, nous semblons prendre part à cet acte, que l'étude de ces esquisses nous intéresse tant." (Thanks to the spontaneity of this work, we grasp the living act of creation. The sketches interest us so because in their contemplation we take part in this act.) Leo van Puyvelde, *Les Esquisses de Rubens* (Basel, 1940); as translated in Sutton and Wieseman, *Drawn by the Brush*, 16.

98 Caylus, "Lecture on Drawings," 316.

99 Wouk, "Frans Floris and *Disegno*," 47.

100 For an early Renaissance manifestation of this tradition, see Cennino Cennini's recommendation that the young artist learn the style of the master in drawing: "as you go from day to day, it will be against nature if you do not get some grasp of his style and of his air [*di suo maniera e di suo ari*]." *Il libro del Arte*, ed. P. Thompson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932), 15. Raphael's pupil Giovanni Francesco Penni, for example, "imitated Raphael's style in his drawings and studied it continuously." Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori: nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, eds. Rosanna Bettarini and Paola Barocchi, vol. 4 (Florence: Sansoni/SPES, 1976), 33.

101 Hendrik Goltzius and Pieter Bruegel are such examples of northern "emulators." Larry Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes: The Rise of Pictorial Genres in the Antwerp Art Market* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 182.

102 Charles Dempsey wrote: "The wealth and diversity of allusion to the art of antiquity and the Renaissance contained in the [Farnese] ceiling is less astounding only than the mastery with which these sources are combined." "'*Et Nos Cedamus Amori*': Observations on the Farnese Gallery," *Art Bulletin* 50, no. 4 (December 1968): 371. On Carracci eclecticism see also Denis Mahon, "Eclecticism and the Caracci: Further Reflections on the Validity of a Label," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 16 (1953): 303–41; and Donald Posner, *Annibale Carracci: Study in the Reform of Italian Painting around 1590* (New York: Phaidon Press, 1971), 77–92.

103 Dempsey, "*Et Nos Cedamus Amori*," 371.

104 L.R. Lind, "The Latin Life of Peter Paul Rubens by His Nephew, Philip, a Translation," *Art Quarterly* 9 (1946): 38.

105 Rooses, *Rubens*, vol. 1, 29.

106 On Lipsius and Neostoicism, see for example: L. Roersch, "Lipse," *Biographie nationale de Belgique*, vol. 12 (Brussels, 1892–93), 239–90; Jason L. Saunders, *Justus Lipsius and the Philosophy of Renaissance Stoicism* (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1955); Gerhard Oestreich, "Justus Lipsius also Theoretiker des Neuzeitlichen Machstaates," *Historischer Zeitschrift* 181 (1956): 31–78; Martin Warnke, "Justus Lipsius und seine Schüler," in *Kommentare zur Rubens* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1965), 33–38; Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics*, 96–180; and Christian Mouchel, "Juste Lipse (1547–1606) en son Temps," Paper presented at the Actes du colloque de Strasbourg (Strasbourg: CNRS, 1996).

107 Philip Rubens, Woverius, and other disciples lived and studied in Lipsius's household. A contemporary noted a filial relationship of Philip to Lipsius; Philip was "non ut discipulus, sed ut filius Lipsio . . . coniunctissimus." Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics*, 50, under n. 127. Lipsius never mentioned Peter Paul in his letters. Ibid., 40.

108 Laura Pinnavaia, "Traveling Words, the Words of Traveling: 17th Century English Travelogues of Italy," in *Selected Proceedings of the 2012 Symposium on New Approaches in English Historical Lexis*, eds. R.W. McConchie et al. (Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, 2013), 129–31. Pinnavaia also briefly mentions three editions of Lipsius's Latin travelogue, *Justus Lipsii Roma illustrata*, translated into English in 16[–?], 1692, 1698. For an account and bibliography about Lipsius's early trip to Rome, see Jan Papy, "Lipsius' Attitude Toward Italy and Italian Humanism of the Late Sixteenth Century," in *Humanistica Lovaniensia: Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*, ed. Joseph Ijsewijn et al., vol. 47 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998), 245–46.

109 Ibid., 269 and 272–73. Lipsius cited health on more than one occasion as the reason for not travelling to Italy as much he would have liked, including around 1600. Ibid., 267–68.

110 In Lipsius's words, "Vagari, lustrare, discurrere quivis potest; pauci indagare, discere, id est, vere peregrinari." (Anyone can roam, traverse regions or trot around; few, however,

can learn, that is: really travel.) Lipsius, letter to Phillippe de Lannoy (1578), cited and translated in Jan Papy, "Lipsius's Humanist and Neostoic Views on Travelling and Philip Rubens's 'Apobateria,'" in *Frühneuzeitliche Bildungsreisen im Spiegel Lateinischer Texte*, eds. Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich and Walther Ludwig (Weimar/Jena: Hain Verlag, 2007), 89.

111 For the relationship of the digestive metaphor to classical imitation, see Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.*, X.i.19; and Seneca, *Epistulae Morales* (84.6–7). This metaphor is also located in two Renaissance sources important to Lipsius: Petrarch's *Familiares* (2.22) and Erasmus's *Ciceronius*. Cited in *Ciceronian Controversies*, ed. JoAnn DellaNeva with English translation by Brian Duvick, I Tatti Renaissance Library (Cambridge, MA: President & Fellows of Harvard College, 2007), 234, and under n. 13. For crucial bibliography on Seneca, see Anna Lydia Motto and John R. Clark, *Seneca, a Critical Bibliography, 1900–1980: Scholarship on His Life, Thought, Prose, and Influence* (Amsterdam: A.M. Hakkert, 1989).

112 Papy, "Lipsius' Attitude Toward Italy," 271, and under n. 134.

113 Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics*, 50, under n. 127; also cited in James J. O'Donnell, review of *Stoics and Neostoics*, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* (March 3, 2012), accessed August 9, 2014: http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/1992/03.03.12.html#NT1.

114 Lipsius, *Politica* (Leiden: F. Raphelengius, 1589); as cited in Ann Moss, "The Politica of Justus Lipsius and the Commonplace-Book," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59, no. 3 (July 1998): 424, and under n. 11. For Seneca's imitation metaphor of the bees and honey, see his *Letters to Lucilius*, letter 84, 3–4, in Seneca, *Ad Lucilium Epistulae morales*, ed. and trans. Richard M. Gummere, 3 vols. (London: William Heinemann, 1917–25). This metaphor was also revived in the Renaissance by Petrarch (*Fam.* I. 8).

115 Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst* (1678; reprint, Rotterdam: Soest reprint, 1969), 194–95; as translated in Muller, "Theory and Practice of Imitation," 245, and under n. 111.

116 Van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding*, 194; and Muller, "Theory and Practice of Imitation," 245, and under n. 108.

117 Ibid., under n. 109.

118 Zweder von Martels, "The Colouring Effect of Attic Style and Stoicism in Busbequius's Turkish Letters," in *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing*, ed. Z.R.W.M. von Martels (Leiden/New York: Brill, 1994), 151.

119 Ibid.

120 Ibid.

121 Lipsius's serious study of Seneca and Tacitus began when he was a young student himself in Rome in 1569. Jan Papy, "Justus Lipsius," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (Fall 2011), accessed November 9, 2014: http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2011/entries/justus-lipsius/.

122 On Lipsius's philosophical and artistic impact on Rubens, see Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics*, esp. chapters 2 and 6. On the close relationship between Lipsius and Rubens's brother Philip, see Papy, "Lipsius's Humanist and Neostoic Views on Travelling and Philip Rubens's 'Apobateria,'" 89–112.

123 O'Donnell, Review of *Stoics and Neostoics*.

124 Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*, eds. G. Oestreich and H.G. Koenigsburger and trans. David McClintock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 68.

125 Papy, "Justus Lipsius." On the issue of Lipsius's Stoicism, see also John Sellars, "Stoic Fate in Justus Lipsius's *De Constantia* and *Physiologia Stoicorum*," *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 52, no. 4 (2014): 653–74.

126 Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics*, 188.

127 Nico van Hout, "A Second Self-portrait in Rubens's 'Four Philosophers,'" *Burlington Magazine* 142, no. 1172 (November 2000): 694.

128 Philip's *Electorum Libri Duo* is discussed by Van der Meulen, *Copies after the Antique*, vol. 1, 97–112. For Rubens's designs engraved by Galle for this volume, see ibid., vol. 2, 250, and ills. 51, 54, 57, 59, 61 and 64.

129 On the group portrait, see Frances Huemer, "Rubens's Portrait of Galileo in the Cologne Group Portrait," *Notes in the History of Art* 24, no. 1 (2004): 18–25; Huemer, "Reconsidering Rubens in Venice-Padua and Mantua," *Storia dell'Arte* 115 (2006): 37–46; and Huemer, "Rubens and Galileo in 1604," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch* 44 (1984): 175–96 (in which she first identified Galileo in the painting). She also suggested identifications for the other two figures, once thought to be Frans Pourbus and the scholar Scioppius, as Lipsius's disciples Willem Richardot and Juan Batiste Perez de Baron.

130 Huemer, "Rubens's Portrait of Galileo," 18.

131 On the Pitti painting, see Rudolf Oldenbourg, *P.P. Rubens, des Meisters Gemälde*, *Klassiker der Kunst* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1921), 45; Wolfram Prinz, "The *Four Philosophers* by Rubens and the Pseudo-Seneca in Seventeenth-Century Painting," *Art Bulletin* 55 (1973): 410–28; Michael Vickers, "Rubens's Bust of Pseudo-Seneca?" *Burlington Magazine* 119, no. 894 (1977): 643–44; Michael Jaffé and Germano Mulazzani, *Rubens, Catalogo Completo* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1998), no. 153; Papy, "Lipsius and his Dogs: Humanist Tradition, Iconography and Rubens's *Four Philosophers*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 62 (1999): 167–98; and Van Hout, "A Second Self-portrait," 694–97.

132 Justus Lipsius, *L. Annaei Senecae Philosophi Opera, quae exstant omnia, a Iusto Lipsio emendata, et scholijs illustrata* (Antwerp: Plantin-Moretus Press, 1605). For Rubens's illustrations for Lipsius's editions, see Carl van de Velde, "Rubens' Illustraties bij Klassieke Auteurs," *Hermeneus* 49 (1977): 207–16; and J. Richard Judson and Carl van de Velde, *Book Illustrations and Title Pages*, CRLB, pt. 21, 2 vols. (London: Harvey Miller; Philadelphia: Heyden, 1977).

133 Inv. 1891,0414.1001; Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics*, 8.

134 Judson and Van de Velde, *Book Illustrations and Title Pages*, vol. 1, 165–66, no. 32; and Muller, *Artist as Collector*, 46.

135 De Schepper et al., *Rubens en zijn bibliotheek*, no. 42, 81–82.

136 Robert C. Evans, *Jonson, Lipsius and the Politics of Renaissance Stoicism* (Durango, CO: Longwood Academic, 1992), 6–7; and Lipsius, *Ivsti Lipsi Epistolae*, eds. Gerlo et al., 15.

137 Inv. GE51.

138 Inv. 305.

139 For the relationship of the Munich painting to the classical Borghese sculpture, see *Encyclopedia of the History of Classical Archaeology*, ed. Nancy Thompson de Grummond (London: Routledge, 1996), listed under "Borghese Fisherman (Dying Seneca)"; and Stechow, *Rubens and the Classical Tradition*, 28–31.

140 Vickers, "Rubens's Bust of Pseudo-Seneca?" 643–44; and Van Hout, "A Second Self-portrait," 694–97.

141 Michael Cole and Mary Pardo, "Origins of the Studio," in *Inventions of the Studio, Renaissance to Romanticism*, eds. Cole and Pardo (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 2–3.

142 De Piles, *Conversations* (Paris, 1677; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), 214.

143 Sperling's visit has been discussed many times. See, for example, Emile Michel, *Rubens: His Life, His Work, His Time*, vol. 1 (London: William Heinemann, 1894), 15; Logan, "Rubens as Teacher," 250–51; and Paul Oppenheimer, *Rubens: A Portrait* (London: Cooper Square Press, 2002), 257.

144 Lind, "The Latin Life of Rubens," 41.

145 On Rubens's engagement with Seneca during this period, see Huemer, *Rubens and the Roman Circle*, chapters 1–3.

146 Judson and Van de Velde, *Book Illustrations and Title Pages*, vol. 1, 165–66, no. 32; and Muller, *Artist as Collector*, 46.

147 For Rubens's painterly engagement with Seneca, see Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics*. On related Neostoic values in Lipsius, see Adriana McCrea, *Constant Minds: Political Virtue and the Lipsian Paradigm in England, 1584–1650* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 5.

148 Joost Vander Auwera, "Rubens and His Visual Sources: 'Just as the bee imbibes from several of the most beautiful flowers in order to incorporate their nectar into its own

honey,'" in *Rubens: A Genius at Work/The Works of Peter Paul Rubens in the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium Reconsidered*, ed. Joost Vander Auwera (Tielt, Belgium: Lannoo Publishers, 2008), 66–70.

149 I would like to thank Suzanne Walker for this important insight (in conversation with the author, January 2013).

150 For my earlier discussion of the relevance of the *Epistolica Institutio* to Rubens's writing of personal letters, see Lusheck, "Rubens's Graphic Eclecticism," chapter 1, esp. 51–65. Georgievska-Shine also later noted its relevance in *Rubens and the Archaeology of Myth*, 20–21.

151 For an English translation of Rubens's 1637 letter to Junius in which he suggests a "like treatise on the Italian paintings," see Harrison et al., *Art in Theory*, 29.

152 Van der Meulen noted Rubens's penchant for "circling around" his models, studying them from multiple vantage points. *Copies after the Antique*, vol. 1, 26.

153 Logan, "Rubens as Teacher," 249.

154 Van Hoogstraten (1678), as cited in ibid., 249–50.

155 Logan also notes Van Hoogstraten's claim that Rubens secured artists to draw "all that was beautiful" in Italy, and paid them for their services. Ibid., 250.

156 Van der Meulen, *Copies after the Antique*, vol. 1, 29.

157 According to Joshua Reynolds, Raphael took "so many models that he became himself a model for all succeeding painters, always imitating, and always original." Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*; as cited in John Barrell, *The Political Theory of Painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt: The Body of the Public* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1986), 127. Reynolds's ideas on Raphael are also discussed in Richard Shiff, "Originality," in *Critical Terms for Art History*, eds., Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 145–59.

158 Fehl, "Touchstones of Criticism," 21.

159 Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni* (Rome, 1672), 248.

160 Kristin Belkin, *The Costume Book*, CRLB, pt. 24 (London: Harvey Miller, 1978).

161 See especially Belkin, *Copies and Adaptations*, vol. 1.

162 Logan, "Peter Paul Rubens as a Draftsman," 21.

163 Van der Meulen, *Copies after the Antique*, vol. 2, 158–59.

164 Rooses, *Rubens*, vol. 2, 369–70.

165 Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes* (Paris, 1708), ed. Jacques Thuillier (Paris: Gallimard, 1989); as noted by Jacqueline Lichtenstein, *The Eloquence of Color: Rhetoric and Painting in the French Classical Age*, trans. Emily McVarish, The New Historicism: Studies in Cultural Poetics, no. 18 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 243 and under n. 47.

166 Ill., Held, *Selected Drawings*, no. 33, pl. 39.

167 Inv. 1984.3.57.

168 Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann (with Carolyn Logan), *Creative Copies: Interpretive Drawings from Michelangelo to Picasso*, exh. cat. (New York: The Drawing Center, 1988), 87. Catalogue entry by C. Miele.

169 Inv. T, 14.1; ibid., no. 18, fig. 18–1.

170 De Piles, *Abrégé de la vie des peintres*; as translated in Moshe Barasch, *Theories of Art: 1. From Plato to Winckelmann* (London: Routledge, 2000), 369–70.

171 Inv. 1870.8.13.882; and Inv. 1870.8.13.883.

172 Inv. 82.GB.140.

173 Muller, "Theory and Practice of Imitation," 230–31.

174 Ibid. For distinctions in types of Renaissance imitation, see Pigman, "Versions of Imitation," esp. 10–11; 17, 20–26. For more on the question of imitation's relationship to eclecticism and models in the Renaissance, see Rudolf Wittkower, "Imitation, Eclecticism and Genius," in *Aspects of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Earl R. Wasserman (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965), 143–62.

175 Rubens's Pocketbook was a small notebook of drawings and theoretical observations recorded by Bellori, and owned by the late seventeenth century by Roger de Piles who also mentioned it by 1681. Aside from a few sheets which are still extant, Rubens's

Pocketbook was lost in a Paris fire in the Louvre studio of André-Charles Boulle, while in the Royal Collection, in August 1720. For the earliest mentions of Rubens's Pocketbook, see Bellori, *Vite*, 1672, 254, and Roger de Piles, *Dissertation*, 1681, 36.

176 As translated in Giovan Pietro Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects: A New Translation and Critical Edition*, eds. and trans., Alice Sedgwick Wohl, Hellmut Wohl, and Tomaso Montanari (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 205 and 208 under n. 40.

177 André Félibien, *Entretiens sur les vies et les ouvrages des peintres . . .*, vol. 7 (Paris, 1666), 428–31; as cited in Bellori, *Lives*, eds. Wohl et al., 208, under n. 40.

178 De Piles, *Dissertation* (1681); as translated in Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, 66. Rubens's Pocketbook owed an enormous debt to Leonardo da Vinci and his own drawings and theoretical notes.

179 Roger de Piles, *Abrégé de la vie des peintres*, 166–68; and Logan, "Peter Paul Rubens as a Draftsman," 19 and under n. 69.

180 On Rubens's early figural treatise and its relationship to the MS Johnson and MS de Ganay, see Michael Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, 89–9; and 304–05; pls. LIV, LXXV–LXXX; Michael Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1977), 12; Anne-Marie Logan, "Leonardo, Poussin, Rubens and the Ms. De Ganay," in *Essays in Northern European Art Presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann on his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Anne-Marie Logan (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1983), 142–47; and Helen Braham, *Rubens: Paintings, Drawings, Prints in the Princes Gate Collection* (London: Courtauld Institute of Art Gallery, 1988), 51–53.

181 On Rubens's *Anatomy Book* and the evidence for its existence provided by Willem Panneels's Cantoor copies in Copenhagen, see Logan, *The Drawings*, 99–100, under no. 16. One of the copies (ill., ibid., no. 16) bears an inscription reading, "I copied these two hands from Rubens's anatomy book which I also fetched from Rubens's *cantoor*." Ibid., 16–17; and Garff and Pederson, *Rubens Cantoor*, 78, no. 82. On the *Anatomy Book*, see also Jeffrey M. Muller, "Rubens' *Anatomieboek*/Rubens' Anatomy Book," in *Rubens Cantoor*, ed. Nieuwdorp, 78–94. For the listing of Vesalius in the sales catalogue for the library of Albert Rubens, see Logan, "Peter Paul Rubens as a Draftsman," 34, under n. 70; and Prosper Arents, Frans Baudouin, Alfons K.L. Thijs et al., *De bibliotheek van Pieter Pauwel Rubens: Een reconstructive* (Antwerp: Vereniging der Antwerpse Bibliofielen, 2001), 345.

182 Rubens went to Spain on behalf of the Duke of Mantua and studied Leonardo drawings then in Leoni's collection. De Piles mentioned Rubens's knowledge of Leonardo's designs in Pompeo Leoni's collection in *Abrégé de la vie des Peintres*, 168. See also Logan, "Peter Paul Rubens as a Draftsman," 18–19.

183 Rubens's treatise on the human figure (*De figuris humanis*) is known today not only through remaining folios in the MS Johnson (London, Courtauld) and MS de Ganay (formerly Paris, Marquis de Ganay), but also through Rubens's *Théorie de la Figure Humaine*, translated and published by Charles Antoine Jombert with engravings by Pierre Aveline (Paris, 1773). Jombert claims to have bought a Latin copy and its French translation of Rubens's original *De figuris humanis* at the Huquier sale in 1772. In his introduction to the text, Jombert claimed a better translation was needed, thereby justifying his own version. Jombert, introduction to Rubens, *Théorie de la Figure Humaine* (1773; reprint, Paris: Aux Amateurs des Livres, 1987; Ulm: Editions Rue d'Ulm, 2003), v. For Rubens's copies after Leonardo, see for example, Rubens's *Studies of Figures Pushing and Pulling after Leonardo*; ill., ibid., pl. XVIII.

184 The inscriptions were drawn from Quintus Curtius Rufus's *History of Alexander the Great*. Müller Hofstede, "Rubens und die Kunstlehre," 59–61; and Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, no. 7, 66–67.

185 Ibid.

186 The translation is Held's. Ibid., under no. 58. The Getty Medea inscription is discussed in Chapter 3, in this volume.

187 For Rubens's linking of figures in a common theme or action in Rubens's early drawings, see Müller Hofstede, "Rubens und die Kunstlehre," esp. 50–65; Mielke and Winner, *Kritischer Katalog*, no. 5; and Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, 66–67, no. 7.

188 Müller Hofstede, "Rubens und die Kunstlehre," 50–65; and Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, no. 7. Held found the idea that Rubens used such *Rohmaterial* "intriguing" but "too speculative." Ibid., 67.

189 For an example of this use of "hybrid" figures in antiquity, see the discussion of the pictorial ambiguity in sarcophagus representations of Demeter and Medea in Vassiliki Gaggadis-Robin, *Jason et Médée sur les Sarcophages d'Époque Impériale*, Collection de l' École Française de Rome, 191 (Rome: Palais Farnèse, 1994), 181.

190 Inv. 5496.

191 For the well-known iconography of the dying Niobids, see, for example, the second-century Roman sarcophagus depicting Apollo and Artemis killing the 14 children of Niobe (Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glypothek; inv. 345). Ill., Paul Zanker and Björn Christian Ewald, *Mit Mythen leben. Die Bilderweslt der römischen Sarkophage* (Munich: Hirmer, 2004), 356–57; no. 28.

192 See the "Method of Probation" in Francis Bacon, *The Twoo Bookes of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning*, vol. 2 (1605; Facsimile reprint, Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd.; New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 17.

193 Philip Rawson, *Drawing* (London/New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 19, and 247–48.

194 Ibid.

195 Rubens to Dupuy, Antwerp, 25 June 1627; Magurn, *Letters*, no. 114.

196 According to Rubens, his best example was derived from Lipsius's *Exemplis Politicis*, and involved "the case of the Moor, Rahum Renxamut, who showed the greatest bravery in rescuing his wife from the hands of the Portuguese; or of the Neapolitan who had been thrown into the sea, but who refused to leave the pirate craft carrying off his wife until he was taken aboard, preferring miserable servitude to liberty without her." Rubens then concluded, "none of this quite suits the subject you propose," arguing this could "hardly be rendered in a picture." Rubens also cited "see Lipsius, in *Exemplis Politicis*, p. 199" in the margin, notably by page number. Magurn, *Letters*, no. 114.

197 Morford, Stoics and Neostoics, 8.

198 Translated in Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, 112, under no. 107. For Moretus's original Latin text, see Herman Bouchery and Frank van den Wijngaert, *P.P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche Haus* (Antwerp/Utrecht: de Sikkel, 1941), 133.

199 Ibid.

200 Rubens to Peiresc, 18 December 1634; Magurn, *Letters*, no. 235. See also Rooses and Ruelens, *CDR*, vol. 4, 82. Also discussed in Elizabeth McGrath, "Rubens's *Arch of the Mint*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974): 191.

201 Rubens's brief Latin treatise *De Imitatione Statuarum* appears in Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture*, 82–85. De Piles claimed it was a literal translation of Rubens's original Latin text which he wrote he had "entre mes mains." De Piles, *Abrégé de la vie des peintres*, 1699; as cited and discussed in Arnout Balis, "Rubens und Inventio: Der Beitrag seines *theoretischen Studienbuches*," in *Rubens Passioni*, eds. Heinen and Thielemann, 14, and under n. 32. For the relationship of De Piles's writing to Rubens's art, see Thomas Puttfarken, *Roger de Piles' Theory of Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), esp. 53–54; 92–95.

202 De Piles, *Cours de peinture*, 1708, 139–41. Discussed in Muller, "Theory and Practice of Imitation," 230–32.

203 Aristotle's distinction between form and matter, united in all concrete perceivable things, played a particularly critical role in Rubens's own distinctions of "matter from form" and "stone from figure" in his treatise, as did Aristotle's concern that artists seek universals, or "substance," derived from specific models and experience. As in the Aristotelian framework, style, manner, or medium ("matter") was that which belonged to the external representation of content, not to content ("form" or "intelligence") itself. Aristotle, *Metaphysica* (X:8 Z), in *The Works of Aristotle*, eds. and trans. J.A. Smith and W.D. Ross, vol. 8 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 1034b–1036a. See also Muller, "Theory and Practice of Imitation," 230, 235.

204 Rubens's imitation treatise also shows the influence of Quintilian's notions of selective imitation and the importance of robust oratory. Ibid., 239.

205 Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.*, X.ii.26, trans. Butler, vol. 4, 89. See also Muller, "Theory and Practice of Imitation," 231.

206 De Piles, *Cours de peinture*, 145–47; and Muller, "Theory and Practice of Imitation," 232, and under n. 30. Mercurialis (Girolamo Mercuriale) was a physician to Cardinal Farnese and a philologist, and a friend of Lipsius.

2 Style and Eloquence in Rubens's *Milieu*

Drawing and the Fashion of Style

The turn of the seventeenth century represents a compelling moment in the history of drawing and style in northern Europe: one in which an ever-growing attention to the qualitative potential of style coincided with a rising historical consciousness and sense of the self, an interest in artistic "self-fashioning" and viewer consciousness, and a growing interest in drawings by a rising new breed of art collectors and connoisseurs called *liefhebbers*, including in Rubens's Flanders.[1] At the turn of the seventeenth century, Rubens's hometown of Antwerp – then called the "Crossroads of Europe" – was situated, like Paris at mid-century, at the heart of this renewed stylistic and rhetorical consciousness in the north, and Rubens was as close to its center as anyone. A great mercantile and port town on the Scheldt River, wealthy Antwerp prided itself on being a recently great (albeit already rapidly declining) center of European agricultural production and trade; it was also the center of Catholic, Spanish and Jesuit, influence in the north, and a key publishing city for humanist texts disseminated throughout Europe and beyond. The famed Plantin Press in Leiden and subsequent Plantin-Moretus Press in Antwerp, with which Justus Lipsius, Rubens, his brother Philip, and their mutual friend (and Christopher Plantin's grandson) Balthasar I Moretus were all closely allied, played a key publishing role in this unique cultural moment by printing some of the most influential humanist and style tracts of the day, including a host of important volumes by Lipsius.[2]

After his return to Antwerp in 1609, the ambitious Rubens found himself at the artistic and political heart of this cultural crossroads as the court painter to the newly installed Spanish governors of the Netherlands, Albert and Isabella – connections he first made through his former teacher, Otto van Veen. An active and respected diplomat who painted for the largest courts in early modern Europe over the next two decades, including at various moments for the Spanish, French, and English crowns, Rubens engaged intellectually and diplomatically with many of the most pressing contemporary political issues of his day. In a period of great religious and political upheaval in Europe and his beloved Lowlands, he played a key diplomatic role for Albert and Isabella as an important negotiator in the Twelve Years' Truce (1609–21) that temporarily brought economic and political respite and hope of renewed prosperity to a beleaguered Antwerp. He also provided highly rhetorical designs for the early Jesuits in and around Antwerp in their post-Tridentine efforts to suppress heresy and reinvigorate the Catholic Church through the visual arts. Rubens painted monumental altarpieces throughout Flanders especially in the second decade of the century, including the *Raising of the Cross* (Plate 7) and the *Miracles*

of St. Ignatius of Loyola, c. 1617–18 (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; Plate 12) destined, along with its pendant, *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), for the high altar of the newly built Jesuit Church in Antwerp.[3] Other significant Jesuit commissions from this period included Rubens's illustrations and the frontispiece for the 1609 illustrated *Life of St. Ignatius Loyola*, printed in the year of Ignatius's beatification. This small volume – and Rubens's outsized participation in the project – directly contributed to Ignatius's unusually swift canonization in 1622 through its rapid printing and effective dissemination throughout Europe and beyond.[4]

The civically minded Rubens must have been profoundly affected by the social and economic instabilities that rocked the Lowlands, particularly in the wake of the Dutch Revolt that caused a *de facto* split between the (Protestant) northern and southern (Catholic) Netherlands by the late sixteenth century.[5] While Rubens rarely addressed questions of religion or politics openly in his art, a large body of personal letters from the impressive collection still known today betrays his rich knowledge of current political events and sometimes his worries about them.[6] For example, one such letter written in Italian that Rubens almost certainly dictated to painter Jan Brueghel who acted as his secretary for a time (commenting on a war then in Montferrat), states, "To tell the truth, I sympathize deeply with that poor state of Milan, and with the miseries of the neighboring peoples, who suffer the penalty of others' madness."[7] His mention of the deleterious effects of contemporary laziness in his early *De Imitatione Statuarum* (Imitation of antique statuary) treatise, and his late allegorical painting of *The Horrors of War*, 1638 (Plate 5), executed in the waning years of Europe's long and terrible Thirty Years War, constituted rare instances when Rubens expressed thoughts related to social issues or the negative impacts of war in painting or theoretical notes. By contrast, Justus Lipsius reflected larger social anxieties and his prescriptions for them far more directly. In tracts such as *De Constantia* (1584), Lipsius drew classically inspired lessons about the virtues of active, civic engagement, and the use of prudence and reason in governance for a new and troubled ("politically sick") age.[8]

Paradoxically, one's style and rhetorical stance, and especially one's values, truly *mattered* at this tenuous juncture in the history of the Lowlands. Fueled by heated theoretical debates that raged in humanist literary and artistic circles since the fifteenth century around issues of literary and pictorial style, Rubens lived and worked in an age in which style itself was fashionable and writers and artists alike created signature styles by reclaiming and updating the most esteemed values and models of the classical and classically inspired past.[9] For some, in the tradition of Petrarch, Politian, Priscien, Pico della Mirandola the Younger (1463–94), and the Renaissance poet Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), individual style could be constructed out of the selective emulation of a variety of ancient and more recent models;[10] for others, a single style provided the best model for elegant expression and one's signature style. Raphael's inclination to use multiple models, especially classical ones, for what Pietro Aretino (1492–1566) heralded as his "anciently modern and modernly ancient" conceptions suggests that the heated debates that raged in Renaissance circles around the nature of the best forms of oratory and literary style crossed into the visual arts as well.[11] In the context of these polemical debates in the visual arts, it is worth noting that Michelangelo provided the chief model for *bella maniera* ("Mannerist") painters and draftsmen into the late sixteenth century. These included many of the Romanist artists of the

Low Countries such as Maarten van Heemskerck (1498–1574), some of whom were criticized by the turn of the seventeenth century for a deliberately artificial "stylish style," an over-adherence to a single model, and especially for the breaking of the unity of form and content associated with Renaissance classicism. In this context, Rubens's biographer G.P. Bellori lambasted *maniera* that he almost certainly associated with the amplified reliance on a single model, especially Michelangelo, as the vice that destroyed painting between Raphael and Rubens.[12]

The stakes of such timely stylistic and imitative concerns proved particularly pitched in the realm of drawing in the Lowlands in the early seventeenth century, and were often linked to pedagogical, workshop, and authorial concerns. For example, the Dutch painter Rembrandt (1606–69) crafted an idiosyncratic autograph manner in drawings and paintings as one important basis for creating a successful and lucrative "Rembrandt style" that his pupils helped to proliferate.[13] Rubens's students, especially Willem Panneels, copied an unusually large body of the master's designs.[14] One example, Panneels's *Laocoön's Head in Two Positions* (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst; Figure 3.16), suggests that Rubens's pupils copied his designs with an eye to capturing both their master's motifs *and* his style: a point illustrated by a quick comparison of Panneels's drawing with one of Rubens's own studies of the Laocoön (Figure 3.15). Rubens's most talented disciple, Anthony van Dyck, also actively worked to learn Rubens's drawing style. For example, the quick, pen-and-ink sheet of *Studies for the Suicide of Dido* (or *Thisbe*?) (Paris, Louvre; Plate 29) shares such striking formal similarities with both Rubens's early Senecan and quick, *sprezzatura* drawings, as well as Van Dyck's early graphic style, that its attribution has been at times seriously contested.[15]

Good reasons exist for such attribution difficulties especially in humanist drawings. In the Italian Renaissance tradition, master artists had long pushed pupils to learn to draw and paint first through copying good visual models in the studio, and eventually learning the master's graphic style. In his *Craftsman's Handbook*, Cennino Cennini (1370–1440) advised apprentices to move from copying antique sculpture to nature, then later to copying the style of one's own master.[16] Later, Leonardo da Vinci advised copying flat, contour drawings after the hand of a good master ("di mano di bon maestro"), as well as the works of diverse masters ("l'opera di mano di diversi maestri"), suggesting that this practice might help apprentices to improve their drawing habits before they attempted more difficult feats like drawing perspectives.[17] Acutely tuned to the idea of signature styles, Giorgio Vasari further praised the imitation of artistic manner (*maniera*) as one of the chief means of learning the art of someone considered better than oneself, including in drawing.[18] Vasari noted how Raphael encouraged his pupils Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco Penni to imitate his style in their drawings.[19] Considering Raphael's penchant for eclecticism and assimilation in his art, this meant that his pupils also effectively studied the styles of earlier masters filtered through Raphael's interpretations. This imitative practice advanced the apprentice's progress in learning the art of painting through copying, helped ensure stylistic consistency in busy, collaborative workshops, and aided in the active promotion of the master's signature hand.

In the Italian Renaissance workshop, learning the style of a great model, especially one's master, thus held the promise of improving one's own work. While some draftsmen learned the style of a single artist, others such as Leonardo, Raphael, and Rubens developed and "improved" their own personal style by drawing from the

best techniques and graphic forms of previous masters and then mixing and recasting them according to their own expressive purposes. According to Vasari, one of the ways Raphael improved and moved away from his "original," Perugino-inspired style was by studying Michelangelo's nudes, "turning from a master into a pupil once more."[20] First praised (yet later criticized) by Vasari for his "catholic excellence" in selecting the best qualities from ancient and modern masters, and for expressing his inventions with facility, superior skill, and good judgment, Raphael's achievements were said to parallel those of Apelles and Zeuxis, classical painters with whom Rubens was also associated.[21] Reflecting a rising taste in the north for increasingly inventive and varied forms of imitation, Rubens copied, retouched, and collected drawings by a wide range of esteemed draftsmen, including Hans Holbein, Pieter Bruegel, Tobias Stimmer, Leonardo, Raphael, and Michelangelo in which he often seemed as keyed to the style of his models as to their content.[22] Known for his flexibility in fusing classical and Italian models with northern ones, Rubens eventually added observations from his immediate environment into his emulative mix, too, thereby suggesting he believed that truly excellent models could be drawn from almost anywhere.[23] Rubens's likely use of living models (the "Capaio ladies") from the Rue du Verbois as inspiration for features found in his robust sirens in the allegorical *Embarkment of Marie de' Medici at Marseilles* (Paris, Louvre) vividly illustrates this point.[24] As Rubens wrote in a letter to Saveur Ferrary around 1623, the women had "wonderful expressions" and "superb black hair" that he found "difficult to attain elsewhere."[25]

The pivotal roles that style and a rhetorical approach to imitation and drawing played in early modern humanist art theory and workshop practice have been the focus of groundbreaking studies over the past few decades, including by art historians Francis Ames-Lewis, Martin Kemp, Michael Baxandall, Philip Sohm, David Summers, David Rosand, Carmen Bambach, Karin-edis Barzman, Maria Loh, Frank Fehrenbach, and many others.[26] One important thread that runs through many of these studies is that drawing and imitation in the Italian humanist tradition to which Rubens was heir often reflected the authorial prowess and character of the maker and the work's underlying content; moreover, graphic style often played an expressive hand in both. As Giorgio Vasari's use of the term *maniera* in the second edition of the *Lives of the Artists* (1568) suggests, formal elements of style – whether applied to an individual, a group, or an age – became increasingly important to notions of *disegno*, and were considered in addition to the number, types, and uses of imitative models when weighing individual style and artistic character.[27] In this spirit, Gian Paolo Lomazzo – a painter and theorist thought to have exercised significant influence on Rubens's approach to imitation and drawing – suggested artists create a personal style by drawing from many individual artists' gifts and temperaments in preference to wholly depending on one style.[28] This implied an act of assimilation and creation wherein formal elements of style held the potential to act as indices for moments of esteemed imitation and potential signifiers for the models' underlying meanings. One important outcome of this practice was that mature artists were increasingly alerted to their own potential for god-like creativity and to the potential of drawing as a prime locus for registering the artist's most closely held ideas (*disegno esterno*).[29] By extension, humanist drawings thereby also increasingly functioned as outlets and external manifestations of nascent ideas of artistic self-conception and self-representation in early modern Europe.

A range of early modern Dutch and Flemish theorists and draftsmen were especially attuned to the possibilities of eclectic imitation and signature styles in the graphic realm. The Dutch printmaker Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617) employed a varied approach to style in order to achieve new hybrid forms of representation, including drawings that looked like prints.[30] Students copying their masters' manners of drawing also proliferated in the Lowlands, with pedagogical texts urging this practice. These included Karel van Mander's *Grondt der edel vry Schilderkonst* (Haarlem, 1604) – a text that Rubens almost certainly knew[31] – Willem Goeree's *Inleydinge tot de Al-gheemene Teycken-Konst* (Middelburg, 1668), and Samuel van Hoogstraten's *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst* (Rotterdam, 1678).[32] Goeree advised students to draw "according to the example of many Masters" and "keep up, *yes, never give up*."[33] Van Mander further suggested that artists judiciously adopt a variety of good models in order to communicate their ideas most affectively: a classical idea grounded in Quintilian.[34] He advised artists to be highly critical and assimilative in their selection and use of models in his declaration that "well-cooked turnips [*rapen*] make delicious soup."[35] Since *rapen* also implied "to collect," or "to gather together," the proverb highlighted the importance of the artist's choice and synthesis of excellent models.[36] In his *Academy* (*Hooge Schoole*), Van Hoogstraten extended Van Mander's concept of manner of painting or drawing (*handeling*) to the diversity of subjects (*verscheydenheden*) available for representation.[37] Van Hoogstraten's notion of handling also accounted for the hand's share in expression as well as the pictorial effects possible in different manners of rendering. In his *Academy* (Book 1, Chapter 5), he also wrote that pictorial means should match the subject depicted. According to Van Hoogstraten, "one must sometimes change the *handeling* [the way one uses the drawing implement] according to the nature of things."[38]

In this context, certain northern draftsmen became highly attuned to the appropriateness of certain manners of drawing relative to their subject matter, and to the rhetorical potential for stylistic differences to signal important variations in graphic meaning.[39] In keeping with rhetorical traditions of drawing epitomized in the graphic work of Leonardo da Vinci, artists in contemporary northern humanist circles frequently mobilized style and formal distinctions as expressive markers often with conceptual and other signifying implications. The hierarchical styles of drawing in Rudolfine Prague and the rough, Attic style in Rembrandt's late drawings identified by Nicola Courtright exemplify how distinctions in graphic manner evolved into fundamental instruments in meaning generation in certain circles in early modern northern Europe.[40] According to Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, certain northern draftsmen in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries developed a distinctly persuasive, modal approach to style in which graphic forms corresponded to subject matter and contemporary tastes and hierarchies. He contrasted the pen style of "artificial elegance" used for elevated, mythological themes such as in Goltzius's *Venus and Mars Surprised by Vulcan*, with the rough, "descriptive" mode in chalk for "low" subjects, apparent in landscapes including Roelandt Savery's studies of trees.[41] In this context, Rubens's variation in drawing styles – for example, between his quick, *sprezzatura* drawings in pen and ink, his elegant wash drawings, and his "rougher" chalk drawings of the Flemish countryside – must be considered both intentional *and* potentially meaningful. Moreover, when graphic variations are considered in the context of multiple, meaning-laden models – especially *within the space of the same drawing*, as they sometimes appear in Rubens's sheets – the graphic conditions

become ripe for creating highly complex, conceptually sophisticated works indeed. In this comparative system of signification, small details and shifts in style thus held the rhetorical potential to generate and signal more or less seismic shifts in content in motifs or works that otherwise might look very similar. When original inventions and great ideas were also factored into the equation, the possibilities *in* and *for* drawing in Rubens's sphere must have seemed endless.

Copia and the "Matter" of Eclecticism

In Rubens's erudite circles, questions of style and imitation usually went hand in hand with a revival of classically inspired rhetorical concerns meant to appeal to, and serve, a new age. Reflecting the antiquarian, bibliophilic age in which the artist lived, Rubens and his contemporaries read and discussed a wide range of classical texts on style, as well as classically inspired Renaissance texts on the best means to achieve eloquence. He and his circle of friends collected some of these treasured texts in their private libraries, discussed them in personal letters, and shared important or controversial volumes with each other, sometimes as gifts.[42] A range of volumes emphasizing style, good imitative models, and the classical art of persuasion (*Ars rhetorica*) proved particularly popular or influential in Rubens's circles, including many either known to or owned by the artist. Some of these titles included Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (*Ars Rhetorica*, fourth century BCE), Cicero's *On the Ideal Orator* (*De Oratore*, first century BCE), Demetrius's *De Elocutione* (second century CE), and Quintilian's *Orator's Education* (*Institutio Oratoria*, first century CE), as well as classically inspired Renaissance style handbooks such as Lorenzo Valla's *Elegances of the Latin Language* (*Elegantiae linguae latinae*, 1444; first printed 1471).

Manuals emphasizing *copia* (abundance, or variety), including in the context of the newly revived rhetorical art of personal letter writing, were also widely published in northern Europe as early as the turn of the sixteenth century, especially in France and the Lowlands. Important new volumes included Desiderius Erasmus's (1466–1536) Quintilian-inspired manual for pupils on *copia* or "the abundant style" (*De duplici copia rerum ac verborum*) printed by Josse Badius in Paris in 1512,[43] and Lipsius's *Principles of Letter-Writing* (*Epistolica Institutio*, 1591): an influential, yet brief, epistolary manual that was reprinted up to 13 times before 1618, including in 1605 by the famed Plantin Press in Antwerp.[44] Borrowing heavily from ideas and concerns found in Erasmus's *De copia*, Lipsius's *Epistolica Institutio* was further associated in both name and ambition with Quintilian's educational manual associated with robust oratory, the *Institutio Oratoria*[45] – thus creating an almost familial lineage of pedagogical manuals promoting eclecticism as a means to eloquence linking classical past to Renaissance present. Many of these texts built on Aristotelian ideas enjoyed significant popularity in the north into the late sixteenth century, either through new editions or translations, or new printings of earlier editions.[46] At various points in his career, Rubens owned or consulted many of these volumes, including Aristotle's *Ars Rhetorica*, Cicero's *De Oratore*, Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, Horace's *Ars Poetica*, Pomponius Gauricus's *De Sculptura* (1504), Lipsius's *Epistolica Institutio*, and Père Jean Goulu's *Lettres de Phyllarque à Ariste où il est traité de l'éloquence française* (1627–28), which Rubens discussed at length in a series of personal letters with his French antiquarian friend Pierre Dupuy.[47]

Other, newly penned volumes concerning methods to achieve eloquent expression, particularly those emphasizing the value of study, selective imitation, and native wit (*ingenium*), were also popular in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century northern circles. The so-called Strasbourg "Professor of Eloquence," Melchior Junius (1545–1604),[48] published two of the most widely read volumes on methods for achieving eloquence. Junius's *Methodus eloquentiae comparandae* (Strasbourg, 1585) was quickly reprinted nine times and deals with "the technique of acquiring eloquence, which requires natural gifts, a firm grasp of the rules of art, wider knowledge of other subjects, imitation, and practice in writing."[49] This included studying a rather prescribed order of important classical rhetorical texts. Junius's pragmatic *Artis dicendi praecepta* (Strasbourg, 1589) focused on questions of style, decorum, and "the usefulness of eloquence," as well as on collecting rhetorical observations from ancient orators including Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian; it was also rapidly in demand, and was reprinted five times in steady succession through 1607.[50] One reason for the interest in Junius's texts related to a renewed interest in Aristotelian rhetoric moving up through the north from southern Europe in the service of the Catholic Church, including through Jesuit humanist and Rubensian circles in the Lowlands around 1580–1600.[51] Significantly, this period also witnessed the codification of the Jesuit instructional goal of *eloquentia perfecta* as expressed in the *Ratio Studiorum* (Naples, 1598; promulgated 1599).[52] Recalling the Jesuit-trained Lipsius's interest in a lifelong course of study grounded in a serious study of the ancients, this so-called "course in eloquence" was designed for more advanced, studied students who already possessed significant knowledge of the principles of rhetoric, Latin, and the works of important classical authors including Cicero, Horace, and Sallust.[53]

Numerous classical style treatises, many widely available in Rubens's Antwerp or printed by the Plantin Press, emphasized how good literary style should be grounded in artistic discrimination and a copious, yet also selective, approach to imitation.[54] For many early modern humanist artists seeking, like Rubens, to raise their social prestige and economic status well above that of craftsmen, the Horatian ideal of "painting as mute poetry" (*ut pictura poesis*) as expressed in the *Ars Poetica* provided a central authority for eclecticism.[55] Cicero's concept of *copia* (as variety), revisited by a range of later classical and Renaissance thinkers important to Rubens's mature formation including Quintilian and Erasmus, also offered a related justification for orators and artists to imitate multiple models and styles in speech, writing, and even the visual arts.[56] Cicero first invoked the term to suggest a wide variety of oratorical models in *De Oratore*,[57] and again in *Rhetorica ad Herennium* when addressing the virtues of expressive variety (*copia dicendi*).[58] In *De Oratore*, he highlighted the roles of intellect and the creative imagination in this equation, naming the mind (*animus*) as the site where "the ideal of perfect eloquence" is first conceived.[59] For Cicero, *copia* involved an *a priori* mental mixing of models, laced with the orator's original inventions, to achieve the persuasive and elegant verbal expression of a range of important ideas.[60] Rubens would have almost certainly known Cicero's ideas on imitation. Rubens cited Cicero's *De Natura Deorum* (II.18), along with Quintilian and Plato, for justifying his interest in the cubic, geometric basis of the male robust figure,[61] and may have known Cicero's ideas on the role of the senses and *ingenium* in the formation of visual memory.[62] Rubens also designed a portrait bust of Cicero in a series of antique busts engraved by Jan Witkdoek in 1638,[63] and may have consulted Cicero's *De Oratore* (II.58), along with Horace and Lucian, as inspiration

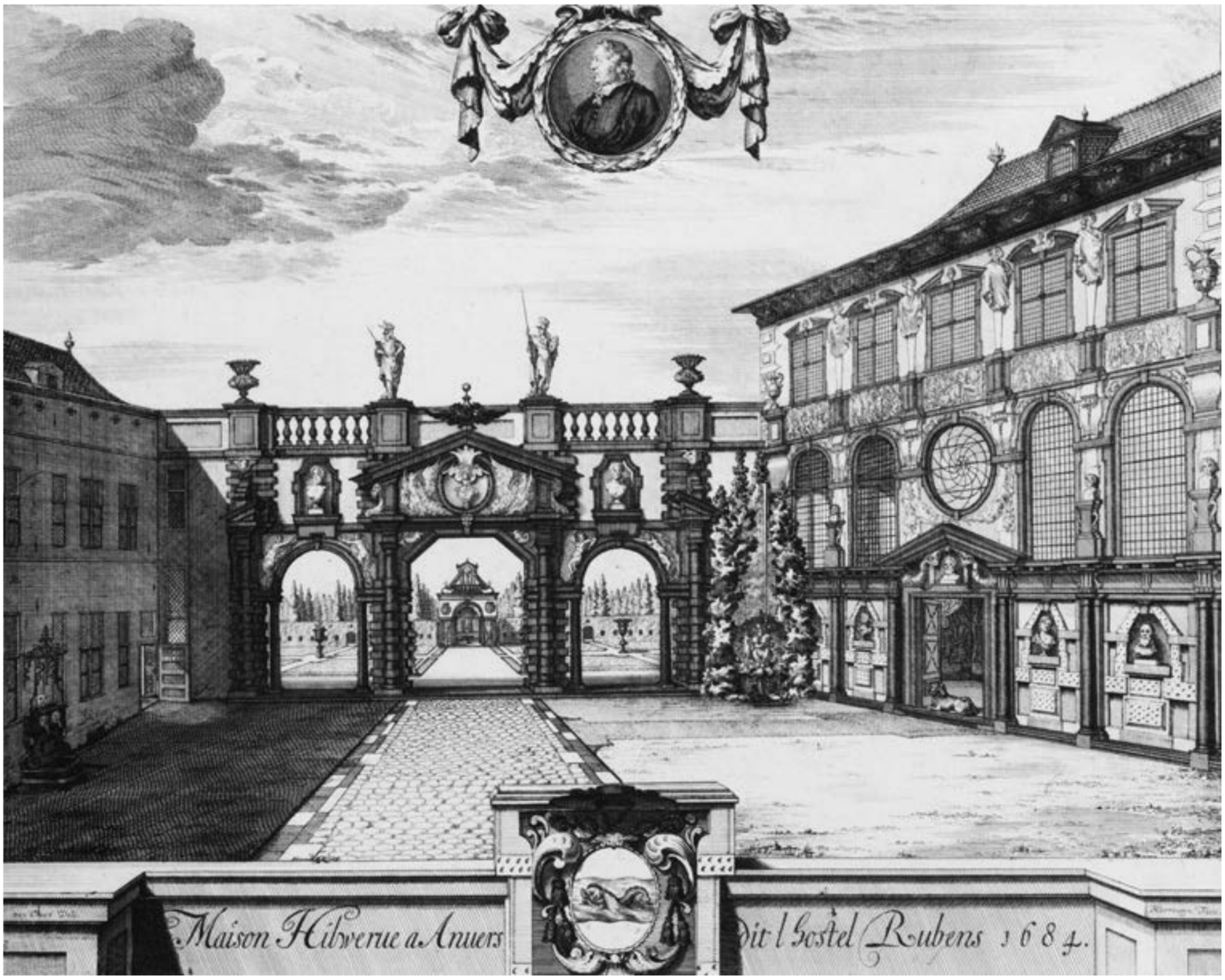


Figure 2.1 Jacob Harrewijn, after Jan van Croes, *View of the Garden of the Rubenshuis, Antwerp*, 1684, engraving, 287 × 357 mm. Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951 (inv. 51.501.7503). © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

for the crying and laughing philosophers related to a painting of Democritus and Heraclitus discussed by Elizabeth McGrath.[64]

Of special relevance for a consideration of Rubens, Cicero praised the ancient Greek painter Zeuxis (495–390 BCE) for his excellence in imitative variety, especially given the painter's fame for using multiple models exemplifying the best features in his painting of Helen of Troy.[65] Also invoked by Pliny the Elder in his *Natural History* (35.61–66) and much later by the Italian humanist Baldassare Castiglione in his *Book of the Courtier* (Venice, 1528) for painting such illusionistic grapes they fooled even birds, Zeuxis offered the primary model from antiquity for early modern painters, including Rubens, who embraced selective imitation.[66] Heralding himself "The New Zeuxis" (in the tradition of Vasari),[67] Rubens included a depiction of the eclectic *Zeuxis Selecting Models* on the exterior façade of his new Antwerp palazzo (Figure 2.1).[68] As Fredrika Jacobs argued, this design, and other depictions of other famous paintings by ancient artists such as Apelles, Pausias, and Timanthes on the façade, may relate to Rubens's attempts following his return to Antwerp from Rome to construct a pictorial history of ancient art along Vasarian lines.[69] According to Karel van Mander, Rubens's teacher, the erudite *pictor doctus* Otto van Veen, earlier attempted a similar enterprise,[70] and was thus likely an important, early conduit for

Rubens's eclectic and classicizing interests. Testifying to the continued interest in Zeuxis in Rubens's close circles, his second wife, Helena Fourment, was even once compared to the classical painter's beautiful Helen in a poem by the painter's humanist friend Gaspar Gevaert (Gevartius).[71]

Quintilian's ideas of imitative abundance, and the role that excellent models played in robust oratory and the best classical painting, also seem to have attracted Rubens's serious attention.[72] The Roman orator predicated his idea of imitative *copia* on the idea that oratorical eloquence (*verba*) demanded a wealth of subjects (*res*), and by extension, a variety of excellent models to match – ideas fundamentally rooted in Cicero, and in the Aristotelian categories separating (essential) form from (accidental) matter that governed Rubens's own Imitation treatise.[73] He further acknowledged the importance of *decorum*, or aptness, when selecting models and the importance of the intended recipient in eloquent expression.[74] According to Quintilian, truly vigorous orators should not waste their natural energy on subtlety; rather, vigor in gesture and voice "itself excites the orator and spurs him."[75] This had authorial implications as well. In this classical art of speaking well, *copia* and eloquence that helped join form to meaning were further equated with the vigor and inherent virtue of the orator himself.[76]

Quintilian's ideas flourished in humanist circles in early modern Antwerp. Lipsius used the *Institutio Oratoria* as the basis for his laconic manual on personal letter writing, the *Epistolica Institutio*, and Rubens's contemporary, Franciscus Junius, invoked the Roman orator's ideas in the service of his "modern" treatise on antiquarian models and the dignity of humanist painting (*The Painting of the Ancients*),[77] a highly theoretical text on antiquarian-inspired art that Rubens enthuasiastically praised.[78] Of particular importance for Rubens's early artistic commitments, Quintilian's pedagogical roadmap to eloquence involved seeking a more robust, persuasive form of modern oratory achieved through the transformation of multiple, esteemed models, and a forcible "virile style" (*stilo vires*) that he equated with *robusta*, or the robust health of the body.[79] In this context, Quintilian compared the best orators to strong (male) athletes.[80] Rubens predicated some of his most important ideas on the virtues and training of strong male athletes in his *De Imitatione Statuarum* treatise and his early, lost treatise on the human figure (*De figuris humanis*) on Quintilian's authority.[81] According to Jeffrey Muller, "[Rubens's] copies, adaptations, and transformations of earlier art implement the process of choice, judgment, and synthesis outlined by Quintilian and Seneca."[82]

Indeed, the impact of Seneca the Younger (Lucius Annaeus Seneca, 4 BCE–65 CE) on Rubens's copious approach to imitation and eloquence would also be hard to overstate. Seneca, whose *Letters to Lucilius* contributed to the revival of personal letter and essay writing especially in the northern circles of Erasmus, Lipsius, Francis Bacon (1561–1626), and Michel de Montaigne (1533–92),[83] metaphorically highlighted the superior artistic inventions (flowing honey) that resulted from writers (bees) judiciously selecting and imbibing exemplary forms and ideas (sweetest nectar) from multiple, esteemed models (the best flowers). According to the Latin Stoic, the writers (bees) then digested and distilled these borrowed ideas into new, original inventions.[84] Seneca's ideas on disguised imitation informed Rubens's approach at least as early as his Italian period, as did the fifth-century Roman writer Macrobius's perspective on "eristic imitation" in which models could be translated into new compositions yet still remain legible.[85] What seems to have attracted Lipisus, Rubens, and their

contemporaries was that Seneca's *copia* involved selecting and judiciously using a variety of models to express a range of important Stoic *values* in the most condensed, original form possible.

The *locus classicus* for Senecan eclecticism resides in the late *Letters to Lucilius*: moralizing works akin to essays that English philosopher Francis Bacon called "dispersed meditations," written in the form of personal letters.[86] This key passage is worth citing at length to highlight the essential erudition required of this approach, and Seneca's concern for preserving – even distilling – the underlying substance, or content, of his imitative models into a new (read: original) substance. According to Seneca:

> We should follow, men say, the example of the bees, who flit about and cull the flowers that are suitable for producing honey, and then arrange and assort in their cells all that they have brought in; these bees, as our Vergil says, pack close the flowing honey, And swell their cells with nectar sweet. It is not certain whether the juice which they obtain from the flowers forms at once into honey, or whether they change that which they have gathered into this delicious object by blending something therewith and by a certain property of their breath. For some authorities believe that bees do not possess the art of making honey, but only of gathering it; . . . Certain others maintain that the materials which the bees have culled from the most delicate of blooming and flowering plants is transformed into this peculiar substance by a process of preserving and careful storing away, aided by what might be called fermentation, whereby separate elements are united into one substance.[87]

Expressed through metaphors of eating and digesting essential foods, Senecan eclecticism ultimately concerned rhetorical and imitative values and strategies, too. These included an emphasis on invention and the locating, ordering (*ordo*), and disposition (*dispositio*) of models in new forms. For Seneca, selective imitation was not simply a question of collecting sources; it also constituted a new substance, or *art* – something newly invented – that required the orator's judicious choice, his unique style and contributions ("a certain property of their breath"), and the intellect to digest and transform these models and their underlying ideas into new and improved ones. Seneca also highlighted the importance of keeping these ideas in mind ("a process of preserving and careful storing away") through a process of "fermentation" that distilled the new ideas over time into new, stronger inventions ultimately of the author's own making.

Rubens's well-known 1637 letter to Franciscus Junius offers direct evidence that the artist embraced Seneca's ideas on selective imitation. On the occasion of the publication of Junius's *De Pictura Veterum*, Rubens suggested that Junius also write a new treatise of similar form and diligence on more recent examples ("prototypes") of Renaissance painting. Rubens added:

> When we attempt to render visible in its proper dignity a famous painting by Apelles or Timanthes that Pliny or other authors describe in detail, who among us will not produce a piece of work that is insipid or alien to the grandeur of the ancients? Each, indulging his own genius, makes a new wine . . .[88]

Continuing in the Senecan language of food and digestion, Rubens congratulated Junius for the good first course (*entrée*) of his volume of classical *exempla*, even as he added his hopes that Junius would not refuse the "main course" of more recent Italian models in order to satisfy his "appetite."[89] In the same letter, Rubens further praised *De Pictura Veterum* for its "elegant language" and "admirable erudition." He added, "The entire work is laid out perfectly in proper sequence, and filed and polished with unusual care, from head to foot."[90] What Rubens praised in Junius's text was the clear expression and careful ordering and finishing of his text – quite literally, his Senecan body of eloquence – achieved through the use of his knowledge of classical models, his studied intellect, and the ordering and refinement of his text from start to finish, "head to foot." For Rubens – like his beloved Seneca – the style *was* the man,[91] and his medium also paradoxically carried his message.[92] In the artist's eyes, as in Junius's, all of these factors almost certainly contributed to creating new, more meaningful prototypes worthy of both the ancients and the complicated modern age in which they lived.

The "Age of Eloquence" and the Lipsian Epistolary Sphere

Contemporary early modern sources also contributed in important ways to Rubens's ideas of eloquence and rhetorical excellence, especially those circulating in the context of newly revived personal epistles, essays, and Attic prose in the larger sphere of Lipsian influence. The era of Lipsius and his correspondent and strong admirer, Michel de Montaigne, has been dubbed "The Age of Eloquence" for the central roles accorded to style and the apt use of a range of esteemed models of the classical and recent past in the persuasive expression of important concepts in these early seventeenth-century northern, humanist circles. According to Marc Fumaroli, Lipsius and Montaigne redefined literary and artistic practice by transforming the eloquent, classical orator into the modern writer, lay person, or artist who possessed the discriminating, god-like potential to demonstrate superior intellect and creative prowess through forms grounded in a varied approach to Renaissance emulation.[93] This involved a classical privileging of unity of style and thought. For example, certain early modern French Attic dramatists under Lipsius's and Montaigne's influence, such as Pierre Corneille (1606–84) and Jean de Routrou (1615–1702), have been shown to have manipulated literary form to evoke a theme or topic in a way that eloquently reflected their authorial prowess and underlying idea or topic.[94] Thus, French Attic writers of the mid-seventeenth century have been described as expressing their often tragic themes with "aesthetic coherence" by fusing literary form with meaning.[95]

In early modern Aristotelian-inspired circles, including Rubens's own, a concern with forging an intimate connection between *form* (relating to a thing's underlying substance or defining essence) and *matter* (relating to its physical material or outward expression)[96] – or in Quintilian's terms *res* (substance) and *verba* (expression) – played out in a powerful rhetorical attachment to the expressive potential of external (physical) forms to capture and express internal (mental) concepts. In the northern European circles of Lipsius and Montaigne, this was further reflected in a central early modern preoccupation with expressing what Marc Fumaroli called "the style of a thought" (*le style d'une pensée*).[97] For Fumaroli, contemporary, Attic-inspired, French dramatists in the tradition of Lipsius and Montaigne played the role of a

"polyphonic orator" whose cultivating rhetoric held the potential to bring the author's most fundamental ideas memorably into *evidentia*.[98] In this context, writing held the potential to reflect the quality, form, and content of a mental act. For Lipsius and his Attic followers, this was especially the case in more intimate forms of expression – such as essays and familiar personal letters (*epistulae familiares*) – that, like drawings in the Italian Renaissance workshop tradition, were most associated with the writer's closely held thoughts.[99]

As Fumaroli, Morris Croll, and others have clarified, style and its expressive possibilities played a key role in this moment. Recalling Rubens's approach to his art, Lipsius and Montaigne demonstrated an archaeological concern with incorporating an almost unfathomable breadth of classical and classically inspired sources into their works in erudite ways often belied by the studied simplicity (*simplicitas*) and nonchalance of their writing.[100] The remarkable sophistication and humanist complexity (*difficultà*) of their often highly crafted works arguably resided in part in their authors' abilities to internalize and disguise their sources such that the works did not appear particularly erudite.[101] Through a flexible and apparently spontaneous approach, they paradoxically embraced a new, more seemingly labored form of affected ease (*sprezzatura*). For example, Montaigne's heavily revised *Essays* reveal the author's delight in the active process of thinking.[102] Marked by visible revisions and annotations that recall Rubens's openly visible *pentimenti* in his drawings, his essays often read like a work "in progress," subject to further process and seemingly fleeting intellectual interventions.[103] This novel approach related not only to a desire to emphasize the depth and accessibility of antiquarian knowledge, but also to an interest in manifesting artistic innovation and the active, thinking mind – as if to demonstrate that the creator was "groping" for originality in their thinking and writing, whether or not this was actually so.[104] In Croll's words, Attic prose constituted "a protest against easy knowledge and the complacent acceptance of appearances . . . [it was] consistent with a theory of style that is essentially qualitative, rhetorical and experiential, in which most everything was said for the sake of the argument and for persuading those addressed."[105]

Croll's groundbreaking essays on early modern Attic-inspired prose highlighted the northern seventeenth-century preoccupation with external form as a visual marker for important concepts and the Aristotelian privileging of style's *qualitative* virtues that also were thought to reflect on the personal character of the author. This implied a capacity for "appropriate" uses of style and the potential for expressive clarity through conventional significations and use.[106] A northern revival in valuing "quality of style" over "characters of style" also extended to a range of writers and philosophers in the wider orbit of Lipsian influence, including Antoine Muret (1526–85), who was responsible for introducing Lipsius to Seneca's Stoic philosophy in Rome around 1568–70, Francis Bacon, and the French "Port Royal" philosophers of the mid-seventeenth century, including Antoine Arnauld (1612–94), Pierre Nicole (1625–95), and Claude Lancelot (c. 1615–95).[107]

In this wider Lipsian realm, questions of style and eloquence were also frequently bound up with serious social agendas that demanded an equally serious and measured approach. Lipsius, for one, is said to have prioritized substance born of the intellect and Christianized, Stoic content over sensual (read: potentially destructive) style alone.[108] Andrea McCrea, in her study on the spread of the Lipsian "paradigm" into England, notes that Lipsius and his followers rejected what they perceived to be

superficial, florid ornateness, focusing instead on the clear and "plain," laconic expression of "the thing" (or idea) which could also be a range of broader physical, social, or political questions, often with pedagogical implications.[109] Similarly, Francis Bacon observed that learning was "distempered" when "words are valued more than matter." He cited a preference for things born of labor and difficulty, characterized by "substance and effect," over easy things of "shewe and sense."[110] In this stylistically pitched climate, one of the greatest perceived threats of dis-ease – style itself – paradoxically also came to hold the potential to act as one of its remedies. As Montaigne caustically commented on the superficiality of Cicero's style, "Fie upon that eloquence that makes us in love with itself, and not with the thing."[111]

The seemingly spontaneous, process-oriented nature of Attic writing also reflected the intellectual vigor and active workings of a solitary mind seeking knowledge. In Arnauld and Nicole's *La Logique ou L'Art de Penser* (1662), eloquent persuasion was not achieved, in Croll's view, through seductive language, but rather through demonstrating the movements of a virile, athletic mind.[112] Instead of calling attention mostly to itself, style first and foremost highlighted the artist's active, creative mind and the work's underlying epistemological content.[113] Croll nicely summed up what he saw that made this new:

> Expressiveness rather than formal beauty was the pretension of the new movement, as it is of every movement that calls itself modern. It disdained complacency, suavity, copiousness, emptiness, ease, and in avoiding these qualities sometimes obtained effects of contortion or obscurity, which it was not always willing to regard as faults. It preferred the forms that express the energy and labor of minds seeking the truth, not without dust and heat, to the forms that express a contented sense of enjoyment and possession of it. In a single word, the motions of souls, not their states of rest, had become the themes of art.[114]

In all likelihood, this Attic emphasis on difficulty, process, and on the working artist seemingly struggling with his material also in part accounts for aspects of Lipsius's letter writing and Rubens's drawings, including those for which they were criticized by contemporaries. Contemporaries criticized Lipsius for his open corrections and rapid, untidy writing,[115] and Rubens for his graphic "peculiarities" and faulty draftsmanship.[116] It also likely in part accounts for Rubens's love of vigorous *sprezzatura* drawing and his impassioned *Sturm und Drang* approach to drawing and painting early in his career.[117] Drawings such as Rubens's *Kneeling Man* (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen; Plate 30) represent such expressive labors, drawn with a heated urgency, emotional unrest, and a vigorous mind and hand to match the strength and intensity of his subject. Here, the strength of Rubens as eloquent, robust orator is reflected in the draftsman's content and energetic, impassioned style.

This new approach arguably in part related to the perceived need in Lipsian circles to transform classical models into modern, updated styles that responded to the tastes and needs of their own time.[118] In his Stoic-inspired treatises, Lipsius privileged the ideas of Seneca and Tacitus – not coincidentally, also two of Rubens's favorite classical authors – as a primary means to understand the modern world.[119] Using multiple models, applied flexibly and pragmatically, Lipsius arguably sought to unify newly revived Senecan values, including strength, patience, constancy, prudence, charity, and piety with the form and manner of his language.[120] In his championing

of virtue actively promoted in civic life by Tacitus in *De Constantia*, Lipsius especially embraced the Neostoic virtues of reasoned constancy (*constantia*), prudence (*prudentia*), and restraint as necessary for bolstering both social health and learning.[121] Like French contemporaries in the circle of Montaigne, Lipsius used corporeal and health analogies for the body politic that dated back as far as Plato, extending them into the philosophical and cultural realms as well.[122] As McCrea observed, the medical analogy of a sick body to the illness of language was the "organizing principle in Neostoicism, in which individuals, society, and the state were reconstructed both linguistically and metaphorically" through a new diet and sometimes "painful cures."[123]

In their reinvention of grand oratorical eloquence as new, more intimate forms of expression, Montaigne's essays and Lipsius's personal letters exemplified an ambition also seen in Rubens's own letters and his most rhetorical drawings to digest style and imitative models applying a time-honored Senecan model. Far from disdaining imitation, they depended on esteemed models, ultimately with great *ideas* at their base, as the just foundation for artistic and philosophical excellence. Contrary to the "slavish," childish approach to imitation that marked an apprentice or an inferior writer or artist, this renewed interest in rejoining form and content in the newly revived arts of personal letter and essay writing was almost certainly perceived in this politically charged milieu to hold the potential to be both substantive *and* corrective.[124]

One of the most important manifestations of eloquence in the Lipsian sphere – and in Rubens's and Lipsius's points of contact – involved the writing of personal letters to friends and colleagues, and an interest in preserving their treasured works for posterity. On the forefront of the so-called "Republic of Letters" which saw the proliferation of the writing and sending of often warm, intimate personal epistles throughout humanist circles in early modern Europe,[125] Lipsius and Rubens both wrote hundreds, if not thousands, of personal letters to humanist friends, patrons, and colleagues all over Europe. Influenced by Erasmus's earlier interest in the personal epistolary tradition, the writing of personal missives in humanist circles in the Lowlands exploded in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, taking on a new and often more informal, though still erudite, cast compared with the highly prescribed rules associated with the medieval art of letter writing (*ars dictaminis*).

In the early modern Lowlands, the revival of the abundant style in the service of eloquence was first manifested in grammars in a sphere that arguably bears important relevance for Rubens's approach to style and meaning generation in his early drawings: the newly revived sphere of the informal, personal epistle. In two volumes that influenced Lipsius and were almost certainly known to the young Rubens – *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum* (Foundations of the Abundant Style, 1512) and *De conscribendis epistolis* (On the Writing of Letters, 1502 – the Dutch humanist Erasmus extended Quintilian *copia* (abundance) in the choice of imitative models to the grammatical sphere of words, phrases, and meanings, including into the newly revived realm of personal letter writing.[126] Erasmus's imitative approach involved applying and transforming excerpted phrases and allusions – some more or less disguised than others – in often new or overlapping contexts with the goals of eloquent expression and demonstrating the author's creative, working, and ultimately virtuous mind.[127] Concerned with how meanings could be actively generated through linguistic context and ordering, Erasmus demonstrated how to express ideas more fluently by attending to, among other things, the connotations and dispositions of

words and phrases with the classically inspired goal of more closely matching the form of language (*verba*) with intended meaning (*res*).[128]

The rich variety of worthy subjects begged an equally abundant, yet judicious, approach. A variety of words and phrases were to be invoked with flexibility yet precision in the service of amplifying – even "supercharging" – a broad range of important ideas.[129] For Erasmus, the personal epistolary genre (*epistulae familiares*) particularly allowed for the possibility of treating innumerable subjects with an infinite number of possible forms and nuances of style ("res tam multiplex propeque ad infinitum varia").[130] This involved attuning oneself to style and the flexibility and expressive potential of language itself. In *De copia*, Erasmus advanced a superior "abundant style" in which meanings could be manipulated with elegant variety through linguistic variety (*modo variato*) and decorous applications of language (*apte dicere*).[131] He judged words to be "apt" when they readily evoked the thing they were attempting to signify.[132] His texts held important pedagogical implications, too: Erasmus presented his ideas in *De copia*, for one, as a training program for improvement in writing and achieving a personal style through regular praxis, building a storehouse for eloquence, and competition in argumentation[133] – practical and pedagogical goals that also extended to the realm of drawing in Rubens's circles. According to Jacques Chomarat, Erasmus was also sorely worried about the future of language.[134] In *De Ratione Studii*, Erasmus expressed a desire for a new, superior, "living language" that could be created an attention to *apte dicere*, or an apt way of expressing an idea with eloquence, using the ancient rules of decorum.[135]

Relevant to Rubens's complex and often rhetorical approach to graphic form, Erasmus based his modal concept on a *qualitative* idea of style grounded in the ancient grammatical idea of *modo variato* revolving around the functions of differing verb forms: "a classification based on *function or meaning* rather than form [*my emphasis*]."[136] In this regard, Erasmus looked not only to Aristotle and Quintilian for authority, but also to the Renaissance humanist Lorenzo Valla (c. 1407–1507), who introduced the idea of "modes of signification" in his *Elegantiae linguae latinae* (1444; first printed 1471). Valla's modal concept suggested that different parts of speech carried the capacity to express different senses or nuances of signification when their orders or contexts changed. Valla located his own classical authority in Aristotle's concept of *modo variato* in the *Poetics*, and ultimately in Aristotle's belief in the power of varied actions and formal distinctions to generate a wide variety of meanings.[137] Significant for Erasmus's writing – and more to the point, to Rubens's self-fashioning as an eloquent artist and draftsman – Valla first introduced the critical and generative spirit into grammatical expression that Erasmus addressed in both *De copia* and *De conscribendis epistolis* and that Rubens incorporated into many of his drawings. In this context, erudite and rhetorically motivated draftsmen like Rubens might play, like Valla's eloquent orators, the creative role of "God" in directing "words" and generating meanings.[138]

In his own short treatise on the personal epistolary genre, the *Epistolica Institutio* (Principles of letter writing; 1591), Lipsius revived Erasmus's ideas of *copia* and *apte dicere* as expressed in his 1522 *De conscribendis epistolis*.[139] According to Catherine Dunn, Lipsius wrote the *Epistolica* "to re-establish the ancient classical position of the letter, as a composition distinct from the written oration."[140] Like Erasmus, Lipsius considered the personal epistolary genre to offer a less official (and therefore, less necessarily decorous) locus for treating innumerable subjects with infinite variety and

an infinite number of possible forms and nuances of style. "By imitation," Lipisus wrote, "I mean the proper fashioning of our own consistent style, according to the style of the ancients . . . For no other art, whatever men may try, will make them more eloquent than a dream on Parnassus makes Poets."[141] Championing a new, virile approach to writing, he named Seneca, Sallust, and Tacitus as the finest classical models for mature writers or advanced pupils, calling Tacitus "that kind of concise and subtle writer by whose sharp pruning hook the luxuriance is cut back for a little while, and the discourse is made terse, strong, and truly masculine [*fiatque oratio stricta, fortis, et vere virilis*]."[142] Part of Lipsius's aim was to encourage mature writers to travel through a wide body of imitative models – to "wander and go forth through every type of writer" – and especially to teach them how to achieve facility in writing letters in the style of these particular Latin authors.[143] To this end, Lipsius championed a new, flourishing bouquet of expression that would counter florid (read: superficial) ornamentation through a selective approach to imitation. In this eclectic, Senecan spirit, he exhorted: "Read, examine, and gather flowers from every meadow for this garland of eloquence."[144]

Lipsius's approach to style in the epistolary sphere held pedagogical implications that highlighted the needs of new and troubled times. Demonstrating his concern for style as a qualitative index of individual character and rhetorical intent, he further invoked the Greek Attic writer Demetrius, whose *De elocutione (On Style)* he published as part of the *Epistolica Institutio*.[145] Demetrius separated style into four basic qualitative types: the plain style, the elevated style, the elegant style, and the forcible style. Demetrius's plain style particularly informed the "brief" or laconic style (*laconismus*) that Lipsius advised for informal epistles to humanist friends. For Lipsius, Senecan brevity trumped other characteristics of style he named in his treatise, which also included clarity, simplicity, elegance, and decorum.[146] The choice of type depended in part on the work's subject and recipient. According to Robert V. Young, the classical brief style that Lipsius most advocated in the *Epistolica* reflected the "the wisdom and prudence of men," like his classical predecessors, who lived in an era of civil upheaval.[147] In Young's view, Lipsius eyed his difficult times with a sense of suspiciousness and alienation, and his educational program for training writers through more mature approaches to imitation and style reflected this.[148] In both name and form, the treatise also reflected Lipisus's deep pedagogical concerns grounded in the ideas of Quintilian. As Mark Morford observed:

> The very title of the work, *Epistolica Institutio*, distinguishes it from its predecessors and defines its purpose, for *Institutio* means "System of Education." It associates Lipsius with Quintilian, whose *Institutio Oratoria* was greatly admired in the sixteenth century. The title made broad claims for the treatise: a sixteen-page text was nothing less than a system of education in letter-writing![149]

In the *Epistolica Institutio*, Lipsius offered a brief definition of a letter: "A message of the mind [*animi nuntium*] written to someone who is absent or regarded as absent."[150] Lipsius further clarified, "I have said 'message of the mind' because the purpose of a letter is twofold, either to bear witness to a feeling or to bring up a subject."[151] This suggests a twofold purpose of the Lipsian letter that also has relevance for better understanding Rubens's approach to drawings: a self-revelatory witness of the author for a real or implied reader, and the expressive outlet for an

idea, subject, or feeling thought to first originate (much like *disegno*) in the author's intellect. Lipsius then discussed the two discrete parts of the letter: its content, which is the subject (*rei*) of writing, and its style. For Lipsius, *rei* was split into three types: serious, learned, and familiar. Serious and learned letters demanded more developed content while familiar letters demanded far fewer rules.[152] Again taking inspiration from Demetrius, stating that a letter "is intended to be a comprehensive expression of good will [*philophronesis*] setting out a simple subject in simple terms," Lipsius directly linked the intimate medium of personal letter writing to the intellect and character of the maker – the letter being the visible form of the author's clearly conceived idea.[153] In this framework, the thought (or content) of the letter must be forthright, simple, and clear, reflecting "the special candor of a free mind."[154] This no-nonsense, straightforward approach corresponded with the Attic concern for "the practical man of many affairs with no leisure for ornament" who produces brief, yet serious, notes.[155]

If the subject or idea provided the letter's foundation, its stylistic garbing played the most critical role in its expression and reception. On this front, Lipsius especially pointed to the virtues of stylistic *brevitas* (or the "condensed" style), *perspicuitas* (clarity), *simplicitas* (writing without affectation), *venustas* (gracefulness and vigor), and *dicentia* (decorum or good taste).[156] At the same time, Lipsius warned in the *Epistolica* against repetitiousness, an undue commitment to rules and established forms, and ingenuity to the point of being misunderstood, or being understood with too much difficulty. For Lipsius, language (*verborum*) should be spare (i.e., not ornate), subtle and fitting to the subject, and based on a flexible expression of the lessons of the ancients.[157] In accordance with Greek norms, Lipsius called a style fitting or decorous when it involved an implicit acknowledgment of the subject and the person to whom it was written – frequent preoccupations seen in Rubens's work as well, including in the painterly realm.[158] In the *Epistolica Institutio*, Lipsius clarified that content offered the most unequivocal part of the equation, though; the apt grammatical dressing clearly followed, yet was always already subservient to content. According to Lipsius, "The subject is unequivocal: everything must be in accord with the content, and the garb of sentences and phrases should be appropriate to the structure of the subject."[159] Superfluousness in all forms was to be avoided at all costs.[160]

Lipsius further praised the expressive qualities of informality and compositional flexibility, and directness and clarity of expression. Ignoring strict rules of *inventio* and *ordo* (gathering and arrangement of material) demanded in rhetorical tracts, he defended what some contemporaries viewed as his careless, tentative style – what he called his laconic, or "plain style" – by arguing for the suggestive character of his improvisational style and underlying intellectual content of the work.[161] He particularly valued the qualities of brevity and clarity in his writing of personal epistles, reveling in their capacity to be both allusive and directed to a presumed reader who (unlike an orator's audience) might meditate multiple times on their multiple layers of meaning.[162] According to Fumaroli, when considering Lipsius's letters, "everything rests on the quality and pregnancy of the signs."[163] In this regard, Lipsius compared his own aims to those of the classical painter most known for brevity and his suggestive content. He wrote: "[T]he painter Timanthus is celebrated because there is always more to be understood in his works than is actually painted; I want this

in my writing."[164] J.J. Scaliger attested to the measure of his success on this front when he wrote that Lipsius's writing was "prose that needs to be more understood than read."[165]

Lipsius's body of handwritten, personal letters demonstrates many of these principles in practice. As part of an ambitious Senecan- and Tacitean-inspired social and philosophical program, Lipsius's personal letters, according to Jan Papy, were part of a larger cultural nexus in which humanist scholars from around Europe built a community based in championing the personal (informal) epistolary genre as a potent way to build friendships, share antiquarian pursuits, and grapple with troubled times.[166] Papy has summarized the humanist reach and importance of Lipsius's personal letters, which he numbers from inventories to over 4,000 separate missives either to or from Lipsius, written to approximately 700 correspondents including Philip Rubens, Jan Woverius, Casaubon, Scaliger, Sir Philip Sidney, Joachim Camerarius, Abraham Ortelius, and many others.[167] The fact that many hundreds of letters in Lipsian circles were carefully collected, saved, and published in their own day suggest that they were written with publication in mind.[168]

The form of Lipsius's personal letters reflected many of the ideas expressed in the *Epistolica Institutio*. He habitually varied the style and content of his letters to heighten their rhetorical impact and created thematic overlaps through ambiguity and an elliptical style that left open the possibility of a wide range of meanings,[169] much as Rubens often did in his drawings. Employing an informal, seemingly spontaneous style addressing a variety of subjects, Lipsius placed an emphasis on deep learning and showed a penchant for the choppy, laconic style characterized by verbal looseness and a distinct lack of polish; paradoxically, all in the service of intimate, yet recondite, works meant to be held, reread, and ultimately savored. The high value Lipsius accorded to his epistolary project related to broader literary approaches to letter writing in Lipsian humanist circles:

> A letter by a humanist transcends the ordinary message, especially when it is edited by the author himself. It purports to be well-written and fit to be published; it is the successor of a classical genre endowed with a specific set of rules, defined by the illustrations [*sic*] examples of Cicero's and Plinius' letters . . . This literary conception of letter writing explains why Lipsius does not only emend [*sic*] his own letters (including the seemingly unimportant ones) but also the texts of his correspondents with a view to possible publication. It also explains the care with which Lipsius surrounds his collection of letters.[170]

In Lipsius's words: "Let my letters, indeed, have wit and learning, let them have that which is far from the understanding of the common crowd and gives pleasure after frequent rereading."[171] Rubens similarly addressed an impressive body of personal, hand-written letters to humanist friends and patrons addressing subjects ranging from diplomacy to intellectual matters, interesting books, archaeological finds, and current news of the day. He, therefore, must also be counted as a seminal, early figure in the Republic of Letters.[172]

Rubens's impressive body of handwritten letters shows the relevance of Lipsius's epistolary model as well. According to Ruth Saunders Magurn, Rubens often varied the language, style, and form of his personal letters based on the intended recipient

and their intellect or status, or the subject about which he and his correspondents were writing.[173] Some of the artist's letters to his humanist correspondents evidence unusual rapidity of writing and a rather sloppy (albeit still legible) hand.[174] Others show quick, uneven writing or underlining of passages that seem to suggest spontaneity and delight in active process,[175] features also associated with Lipsian *sprezzatura*. Rubens is also known to have similarly made visible corrections or emendations to some of his personal epistles. In a letter that is likely written in Rubens's Latin hand on the verso of a pen-and-ink *crabbelinge* of *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* possibly also executed by Rubens (private collection),[176] the full content of the missive is summarily cancelled out with four slashing marks of the quill. Rubens is known to have sometimes edited and changed his letters, especially his most familiar ones, frequently making corrections and addenda in the margins and inserting allusions to bolster his theme. For example, some of his letters evidence marginal additions that suggest further commentary on a point he made in his own letter, at times suggesting he reread the letter and then added emendations or further (often classical) commentary to support his idea, expressed in characteristically laconic fashion, after the initial draft was complete. Rubens's letter to Pierre Dupuy in 1628 includes two such marginal comments. In one marginal comment, Rubens added "Painting goes slowly in winter, since the colors do not dry easily" (in the context of his mention of a portrait he was painting of Marquis Spinola). In the same letter, he also added in his Latin hand, "He has the haughty spirit and the common fault of nobility: pride (Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 68)," in the context of his description of Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac (1597–1654) as "Narcissus."[177] Unlike Lipsius who preferred Latin, Rubens frequently wrote in the vernacular – usually Italian or French, and when appropriate, Flemish – showing his preference at times, like Montaigne in his essays, for more modern forms of expression.[178]

Like Lipsius's epistles, Rubens's brief, erudite, and sometimes surprisingly warm letters seem to have often been conceived with absent friends in mind, constructed to bear intimate witness to their author in cases when he could not be physically present. While Rubens often wrote letters to conduct business and relay information to patrons, friends, and colleagues, in many cases he also used them as an intimate means to discuss intellectual and diplomatic concerns with close friends, usually other humanists in the Lowlands, Italy, and France. Written with a flair for self-presentation and *simplicitas* (apparent simplicity), Rubens's familiar letters to close friends similarly tend toward a more informal style, and sometimes suggest they were written in haste. In his 1637 letter to Junius, Rubens added the charming, if conventional, salutation ("Antwerp, in a hurry, and standing on one foot"), suggesting his capacity for erudite, *sprezzatura* writing and thinking and equally quick action.[179] As in the Lipsian epistolary sphere, rapidity and the ability to improvise were particularly important signs because they implied that Rubens enjoyed a wide philosophical and literary reach.[180]

One memorable letter especially highlights Rubens's rhetorical skills and deep erudition, especially in the art of personal letter writing, and how long and deeply Lipsius's Christianized Stoic revival must have affected his thinking in letter writing. Rubens wrote to his humanist friend Pierre Dupuy bemoaning his inability to attain "a stoic equanimity" in the face of the death of his first wife, Isabella. In Magurn's translation, Rubens wrote to his confidant:

Monsieur:

> . . . You are very prudent in commending me to Time . . . For I have no pretensions about ever attaining a stoic equanimity; I do not believe that human feelings so closely in accord with their object are becoming to man's nature, or that one can be equally indifferent to things in this world. *Sed aliqua esse quae potius sunt extra vitia quam cum virtutibus* (There are certain things which are rather outside the vices than with the virtues – Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.49) and they arouse in our souls a kind of sentiment *citra reprehensionem* [beyond censure] . . . But I find it very hard to separate grief for this loss from the memory of a person whom I must love and cherish as long as I live. I should think a journey would be advisable, to take me away from the many things which necessarily renew my sorrow, *ut illa sola domo moeret vacua stratisque relicitis incubat* (Just as Dido mourns alone in the empty house, and broods over the abandoned couch – Aeneid, 4.82) . . . Your most humble servant, Peter Paul Rubens[181]

Lipsius's Stoic admonitions to constancy in the face of adversity are stamped all over Rubens's letter. Offering a taste of his propensity toward presenting himself as the Lipsian-inspired Stoic champion of intellect, prudence, and constancy over the passions, the letter demonstrates his studied reason even in a private moment of profound grief. Writing in a manner that would have certainly met with Lipsius's approval, he aptly peppered his letter with classical commonplaces (*loci communes*) that aptly added classical *gravitas* and marks of erudition to a serious and mournful tribute.

Other examples of Rubens's personal missives also suggest that he shared many of Lipsius's antiquarian interests, and even his interest in appropriate, qualitative approaches to style and imitation. In a letter sent from London to his antiquarian friend, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637) on August 9, 1629, Rubens expressed philological interest in John Selden's newly reprinted work, *De Diis Syris syntagmata* (On the Syrian Gods), writing with some enthusiasm that the volume had just been "revised and augmented" (*recensitum iterum et auctius*).[182] His emphasis on the qualitative aspect of his choices is also reflected in two early letters to Annibale Chieppio and the Duke of Mantua, dated May 24 and July 17, 1603, in which he remarked on "the quality and quantity" of various subjects and figures.[183] On several occasions, Rubens alluded to his desire for finding appropriate modes of expression, and to the virtue of expressive clarity. In 1626, he remarked in a letter to Valavez from Brussels that he was especially pleased with the style in Rigault's *Apologeticus*, which he described as "clear and vigorous."[184] In another letter, he cited the power of the *Lipsiana modo*, adding that style and expression should be modified or altered based on the recipient and subject.[185] Like his brother Philip, Rubens adopted the elder philosopher's principle of *laconismus*, or extreme brevity and clarity in the expression of thoughts or ideas, in his own personal letters.[186] In defending his *Lion Hunt* painted for Lord Digby, he remarked on the virtues of having "courage to express one's ideas clearly and realistically."[187] In another letter to Jacques Dupuy in October 1626, he reiterated his belief in the virtues of stylistic vigor, brevity, and variety. He thanked Dupuy for sending him a very "complete and copious letter . . . with the brief and effective remarks which accompanied them."[188] Suggesting a belief that style of execution could also stand for an internal quality of the artist, and carrying Quintilian's and Lipsius's bodily metaphor into the personal realm, he

complained that his own letter showed "little vigor, in conformity to its writer" due to his feelings of bodily and spiritual languidness.[189] For Rubens, like Lipsius and Quintilian before him, strength of artistic expression almost certainly mirrored the inherent virtue of the artist too.

An extraordinary exchange of letters between Rubens and his French antiquarian friend, Pierre Dupuy, sheds further light on the attention the artist paid to the literary value of letter writing, and moreover to defending an approach to epistolary eloquence that bears the Lipsian mark. The letters date to the late 1620s and concern the publication of, and Rubens's reaction to, Père Jean Goulu's *Lettres de Phyllarque à Ariste, où il est traité de l'éloquence française* (Paris, 1627–28), a literary attack on Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac and his recently published *Lettres* (Paris, 1624). As historian Peter William Shoemaker recently explored, at the heart of the attack lay Goulu's disdain for what he perceived as Balzac's redefining of eloquence from grand, meaningful acts of oratory fit for civic spaces into the more self-contained, humble domain of writing personal missives in his private *cabinet* (bedroom).[190] In Shoemaker's view, the stakes involved nothing less than a "battle" over the direction and meaning of classically inspired eloquence in a new age that saw a steep rise in France of the most informal type of personal epistle.[191]

At the time of the publication of the *Lettres de Phyllarque*, Rubens read Goulu's volume with enormous interest and praised it on no less than three occasions in letters to Dupuy. In one letter from 1628, Rubens uncharacteristically gushed that *Phyllarque* "gave [him] the greatest pleasure" and "that in my opinion he [Goulu] is one of the few best authors in the world . . ."[192] Two weeks later, Rubens reiterated Goulu's worthiness compared with Balzac, whom he criticized with utter contempt for his personal tastes and vices. According to Rubens, the foreword of the *Phyllarque* is "keen and witty, with all the flavor peculiar to this author. He [Goulu] is indeed a terrible adversary for the poor Balzac, whose vanity and self-conceit deserve no sympathy, and who obscures even his good points by his boasting."[193] Aside from Balzac's obfuscation of even his "good points" with superficial and self-obsessed vain ambition (*philautia*), one of Rubens's other problems with Balzac was his disdain for antiquity. In the margin of his letter, he noted that "his contempt for all the ancient authors seems insufferable."[194] Still, Rubens did not see fit to completely dismiss Balzac, adding that he recognized the "salt of his jests, the animation of his polemics, the conciseness of his sentences, and the seriousness of his ethics, although such qualities are spoilt by the unpleasant seasoning of arrogance."[195]

The earliest letter in this sequence of correspondence, dated November 25, 1627, helps clarify the stakes of Rubens's extended critique and interest in Goulu's and Balzac's work. Reading between the lines of this letter suggests that Rubens's concerns resided squarely in the realm of a continued, classically inspired controversy over style, imitation, and ultimately eloquence – this time in the context of the newly revived and increasingly popular genre of personal letter writing. In his earliest description of the *Phyllarque* to Dupuy, Rubens wrote that he found it "very fine and entirely to my taste, as much for the beautiful language and the ironic manner of refuting and criticizing the adversary, as for the clarity and brevity of style and method of holding the reader's constant interest and attention."[196] An incarnation of classial and Lipsian-inspired *brevitas*, Rubens's terse characterization highlights his appreciation for Goulu's eloquence in expressing a time-honored message through classical irony and refutation in a refined, yet concise, manner that almost invariably

was also designed to capture his reader's attention. In brief, Rubens enjoyed his own keen eye for style, content, and the persuasive power of eloquence stripped bare, as earlier promoted by Seneca and Lipsius, in the intimate realm of personal letter writing.[197]

Understood in this epistolary context, even Rubens's early, laconic Imitation treatise – a model itself of the Lipsian brief style – might be seen to bear the Lipsian stamp of eloquence. Reminiscent of Quintilian's calls for robust oratory and Rubens's stated belief in restoring artistic vigor through imitating antique statuary in his Imitation treatise, Lipsius ultimately called for a mature, robust sort of imitation (*imitatio ultima, sive Virilis*) in which excessive display and affectation were to be avoided at all costs.[198] To this end, he supported the imitation and use of selected models, especially the laconic, yet still subtle, styles of Seneca, Sallust, and Tacitus, which he valued for their compactness and subtlety (*id genus brevium sutiliumque scriptorum*) and noted led to a disciplined and virile style of one's own (*oratio stricta, fortis, & vere virilis*).[199] Recalling Rubens's bemoaning of the lack of good, recent artistic models in his 1637 letter to Franciscus Junius, Lipsius admitted that few ancient models remained, thus necessitating the use of other, more recent sources. In a similar vein as Rubens in his Imitation treatise, Lipsius associated slavish copying with the work of a pupil, and characterized imitation as "the proper fashioning of our own consistent style, according to the style of the ancients."[200] Like Lipsius, Rubens further implied his desire to forge new, enlivened, artistic models based on a "diet" of the ancients and exercise, arguably as a way to address or reform what he saw as an ailing artistic or social body enfeebled by a lack of deep intelligence and substance.[201] For Rubens, this likely involved nothing less than reimagining a poetic and generative approach to art through an eclectic, flexible style and an archaeologically minded concern for emulation as its ambition.

Personal Letters and Drawings as Cognates

Given how deeply Lipsian Neostoic ideas affected Rubens during his Italian period, and moreover, as we will now see, how values that appear in the northern epistolary realm also recur in Rubens's own letters and drawings, the possibility presents itself that Rubens shared rhetorical interests and strategies that circulated in Lipsian circles, effectively crossing the boundaries between the literary and the visual arts generally, and the epistolary and graphic arts in particular. The proposition that Rubens might have consciously embraced or adapted emerging literary ideas from the epistolary and pedagogical spheres, especially as expressed in Lipsius's *Epistolica Institutio*, in his artistic practice is supported by important humanist precedents. For one, Charles Dempsey has shown how Botticelli transformed the complex poetics of the *favola* into the content and structure of his *Primavera*, thereby suggesting that painters in the Italian Renaissance tradition had already long concerned themselves with transforming newly revived classical genres of written expression into modern pictorial cognates.[202]

On this point, it should first be said that personal letters and drawings shared important physical characteristics and represented similar activities in Rubens's day. Both were genres of the hand using similar mediums, usually pen and ink, graphite, or chalk on paper,[203] and many would have been stored in similar folios for safe-keeping. There were also significant overlaps in the ways that Rubens and Lipsius approached the activities of letter writing and drawing. For one, both drawings and

personal letters in Rubens's wider circles were viewed as intimate objects to be prized and protected, much as Rubens stored and protected a large body of his drawings.[204] Lipsius (with the help of Rubens's friend and Lipsius's pupil, Jan Woverius) saw to the publication of many hundreds of his own Senecan-inspired, personal letters to humanist friends and correspondents beginning in 1586.[205] Both letter writing and drawing also constituted intimate, seemingly more humble, activities in which a writer or draftsman, presumably often seated at his desk in the privacy of his own studio or *studiolo*, would register some of his most closely held ideas. Rubens likely used his small upstairs studio where he stored some of his drawing folios for both letter writing and drawing – a relatively quiet, private space away from the lively bustle of his busy workshop.

In Rubens's drawings and letters, drawing and handwritten inscriptions also often went quite literally hand in hand. Rubens and his correspondents seem to have often added drawings to their personal letters. In 1624, he wrote a letter, likely to J.J. Chifflet, about a drawn copy that he had intended to send him earlier. He added "Here is the drawing – very crude, but in conformity to its original, whose artifice bespeaks its century." He further added that he would send him another drawing, "rendered fairly exactly," of a motif of a "child in swaddling clothes" that his correspondent wished engraved.[206] In another similar case, he wrote to one M. Felix in 1618 about drawings he sent to him, claiming they were "poor and bad" given his busy schedule, but hoping he could "make use of them."[207] Soon after, he wrote to François Swert about a "crude drawing" of a heifer by another artist, which he discussed in terms of sacrificial Isis imagery, for which he was able to "derive a plausible interpretation" given the "form, proportion, gesture, and pose differ remarkably from the natural properties of this animal."[208]

At other times, Rubens included inscriptions on his drawings and especially in his theoretical notes in his own hand, often in Latin, to comment on a related erudite theme or action. In Rubens's *Drawings after Raphael and Holbein* in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett (Plate 13), he added inscriptions in the same hand, with the same ink, on the same paper as his drawings, and *with some similar ideas in mind*: in this case (in Held's words) "figures in agitation" that betrayed "gestures of astonishment or despair."[209] The accompanying inscription from Quintus Curtius Rufus's *History of Alexander the Great* in Rubens's Latin hand comments on a similar theme: "He was a lad in the first flush of youth who then began to cry and to beat his face."[210] In another notable instance, that of the drawing of *King David Playing his Harp* (Paris, Louvre) that he sent to an unknown artist around 1612–15 as a mechanism (in his words) for "demonstrat[ing] his thoughts" (*per dimostrar solo il pensiero*), Rubens further implied that a certain quality of style (*leggierissimamente*) provided the vehicle for visibly expressing his concept.[211] In some cases, drawings and personal letters appear, likely in the same pen and ink, on two sides of the same sheet of paper. In the sheet of *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* likely by Rubens or one of his school cited earlier, the pen-and-ink drawing fills one side of the sheet, while the other side includes a letter in the same pen and ink thought to be in his Latin hand.[212]

Rubens and Lipsius also at times used drawings or other "illustrations" to supplement their personal missives. Thus Lipsius occasionally used fitting illustrations in his classical commentaries, suggesting that he – like Rubens and Balthasar Moretus in the Plantin sphere – embraced the use of visual models as *illustratio* for important ideas in their texts.[213] Sometimes, Rubens sent drawings along with personal letters

to demonstrate a particularly interesting point or document a lesser-known motif. This was apparently the case when Rubens sent his friend Peiresc a drawing of what was then believed to be a classical helmet resembling a dolphin in a letter in 1636. Likely a student drawing corrected by Rubens, the sheet includes an Italian inscription in Rubens's own hand that labels it as one of the enclosed "dissegni."[214] On another drawing given to his friend Peiresc, Rubens's so-called Mercury Spoon (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale), Peiresc added an identifying inscription in his own hand.[215]

In August 1630, Rubens also wrote to Peiresc about a "much desired packet containing the very accurate drawings of your [ancient] tripod and other curiosities" that he and some of their circle, including "the learned M. Wendelinus" and Gevaerts had been discussing.[216] In the same 1630 letter to Peiresc, Rubens added sketches of ancient tripods to the margin of his letter to illustrate points about the tripods he thought better demonstrated in drawing.[217] According to Peiresc's French biographer, Pierre Gassendi (1592–1665), Rubens enthusiastically corresponded with Peiresc in 1628–29 about the ancient tripod. The content of these letters, highlighting drawings as both personal gifts and illustrations of interesting antiquarian objects discussed by the two in an informal epistolary context, was discussed in Rubens's own letter to Peiresc in 1630 as well as in Gassendi's biography, here quoted by Emile Michel:

> Peiresc had retired to his estate of Belgentier, to avoid the plague which was devastating the south, and thence forwarded a packet to Antwerp containing drawings of several of his most recent purchases, notably a remarkable antique tripod discovered at Fréjus the year before. Peiresc thought in this way "to tickle" the artist [Rubens] pleasantly, and to provoke from him some learned commentary on the different acquisitions. Rubens was keenly delighted, and on August 10, wrote to his correspondent offering him a "thousand thanks." He told Gevaert of his good fortune, and also "the very learned master Wendelin, who chanced to be at Antwerp just then." Examining the drawings in turn, he paid the greatest attention to the famous tripod, and sent Peiresc the comments he desired. He passed in swift review the different kinds of antique tripods, and mentioned their uses. Letters in the margin of the epistle refer to rough sketches drawn on a separate sheet.[218]

Letters between humanist friends on erudite subjects were thus sometimes supplemented by rough, illustrative drawings as well, especially when an antiquarian draftsman like Rubens and his antiquarian friends were involved. Ultimately, the anecdote highlights the important overlap of functions between, *and thinking about*, personal letter writing or inscriptions, marginal and supplemental drawings, and the discussion of important, classical ideas in Rubens's close humanist circles. Again invoking Gassendi's biography of Peiresc, Michel concluded:

> In order that nothing might be wanting to the discussion, Rubens's son, Albert, "who is beginning to study archaeology seriously," and had therefore great respect for Peiresc, copied a page of extracts from ancient authors in which the different kinds of tripods were described. Here was a practical method of appreciating antique works of art: Rubens was especially well adapted to exercise it, for while his scholarship provided him with material for commentaries, his special talent enabled him to make drawings of the objects named. He warmly

> congratulated Peiresc on the accuracy of the drawings he had sent him, and declared them "excellent, and as perfect as the best that could be done in that style."[219]

In this case, drawing in the context of personal letter writing provided an important means for documenting antiquarian subjects, translating "extracts from ancient authors" from written to visual form, and "appreciating antique works of art," particularly among friends in Rubens's rarified circles. If personal letters offered an intimate medium for sharing philological interests, so too did drawings.

When considering the overlaps between writing and drawing in the period, it is also noteworthy that the two were deemed closely related activities in the early modern period.[220] Rubens, like Leonardo da Vinci, included drawings in the same pen and ink as his theoretical notes in his sketchbooks, and Michelangelo and Leonardo would sometimes add contour drawings in the same pen to the margins of personal letters, sonnets, or other informal notes and lists.[221] In the northern sphere geographically and chronologically closer to Rubens, Van Hoogstraten compared artistic *handeling* to a painter's signature or "individual handwriting."[222] Numerous new manuals on calligraphy printed in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries also evidence a growing correlation between drawing and handwriting. One well-known illustration in Gerard Mercator's calligraphy manual, *Literarum Latinarum . . . Ratio* (Antwerp, 1540), pictorially demonstrates this point, showing the author's "writing" hand also implicitly drawing it (Figure 2.2).[223] Like drawing, handwriting style in certain humanist circles was also thought to reflect the "face" or character of its maker. For example, Philip Sohm has drawn attention to early graphologist Camillo Baldi's translation of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomica* (Bologna, 1621) that likened handwriting styles to visages: with "both expressing many things at once" on their faces.[224] In short, writing and drawing often constituted two sides of the same intimate, intellectual coin first expressed in the mind and then by the following hand. In this context, historian Kathy Eden's illustration of Hans Holbein's drawing of his writing hand on the cover of her recent book, *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Intimacy*, addressing the personal epistolary tradition in the northern, Erasmian tradition, was both relevant and thoroughly inspired.[225]

Some of Lipsius's and Rubens's most important rhetorical strategies in the epistolary sphere also appear in a cognate, graphic form in Rubens's early drawings. Rubens drew from an extraordinary number of esteemed textual and pictorial models in both writing and drawing, often with a flexible spirit, showing his skill at mentally combining multiple emulative models and adding his own, original contributions, before putting words or images to the page. Some drawings in pen and ink, including his early independent drawings after Senecan subjects like the Bowdoin *The Death of Dido* (Figure 3.9), also display his elliptical, Stoic sensibilities. Both involved Rubens's working, creative mind industriously expressing often complex, philologically minded thoughts in a seemingly simple way in an apparently humble, intimate medium. Like Lipisus's letters, many of Rubens's "less finished" drawings also underscore his love of graphic brevity (*laconismus*), *sprezzatura* drawing, and even at times his desire to ignite the impassioned heat of artistic invention in material form for a viewer, in Lipsius's epistolary words, "absent or regarded as absent." Certain of Rubens's drawings, like his early *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, c. 1601 (Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum) and the later *Studies for the Visitation*, 1611

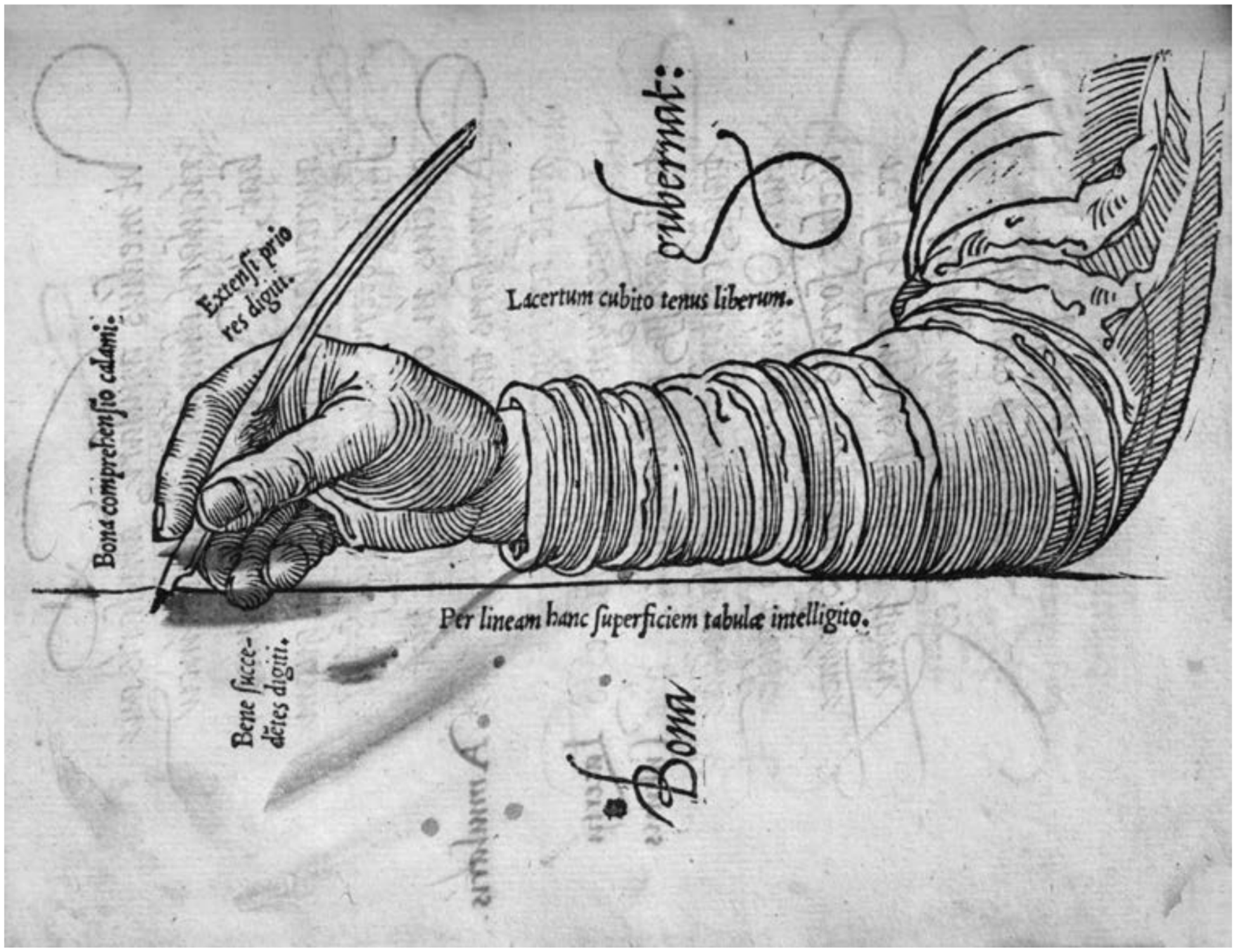


Figure 2.2 Gerard Mercator, *Literarum Latinarum . . . Ratio* (Antwerp: Verlag Richard, 1540). Credit: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, 12499503 – 999/4Hist.lit.127, fol. 14. Permalink: http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11061986–6.

(Bayonne, Musée Bonnat),[226] also show a propensity for quick, unfettered drawing, and for leaving the marks of process openly visible. In others, Rubens added small contour drawings in the context of identifying inscriptions, seen for example in Rubens's *Venus Lamenting Adonis*, c. 1608–12 (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art; Plate 14), illustrating his Senecan-inspired desire to distill a larger theme into the tightest possible graphic statement. If Lipsius conceived of his personal letters as allowing for a less official persona in writing, often with friends or colleagues in mind, Rubens often crafted his drawings outside of the public spotlight of his painting practice, sometimes only for his own delectation or that of his studied friends. According to Anne-Marie Logan, Rubens often made drawings only for himself.[227]

As physical expressions of a mental activity, drawings (like personal epistles) also held the potential to demonstrate the creator's most closely held thoughts in a particularly memorable way – an idea related to classical understandings of memory as a visual faculty. In a reformulation of the Aristotelian notion of "imprints on the mind" that in the Renaissance took on certain *graphic* implications for printmaking and drawing, Erasmus once wrote that he drew (*pingere*) a paraphrase of a difficult concept for one of his students, believing that it would aid his bad memory.[228] He further connected writing, drawing, and memory aids in his admonition that students

write certain brief formulas in the back of their grammar books or underline them in their grammar books, just as they should inscribe them in their head for mental safekeeping.[229] In Rubens's circles, physical things that were seen and touched – that is, powerfully grasped by the senses – such as a drawing or a print, or indeed, a personal letter, were thought to hold great mnemonic potential, a point Rubens's brother Philip applied to the viewing of classical works of art. In his *Electorum Libri Duo* (Antwerp, 1608), Philip observed that it was essential to study works of art firsthand.[230] "It is incredible," Philip wrote, "how much the observation of coins, stones and other old monuments contributes to a fuller understanding of Antiquity. Indeed, I would dare to assert that there are not a few things in [ancient] authors that can scarcely be both understood and explained rightly other than these [monuments]."[231] In his 1637 letter to Franciscus Junius, Peter Paul also expressed a similar sentiment, citing his preference for models that could be grasped by the senses over purely imagined ones. He wrote:

> They [Italian paintings] provide examples, or prototypes, which to this day are before the public. One can point to them and say: "here they are!" for those things which touch our senses are more sharply imprinted on the mind; they remain with us and demand a more minute examination. In addition they offer students a more fruitful scope for their improvement than does the study of a subject which reveals itself to us only through our imagination, in a dream, as it were, and to such an extent overlaid with words that, grasped three times in vain, they often elude us (as the image of Euridice eluded Orpheus), and frustrate a student in his hope . . .[232]

In their most distilled form, Rubens's purest line drawings graphically manifest the artist's translation of his mental impressions to paper in a style befitting the way in which images were thought to be stored: with their emphasis on strong, linear external contours registering the artist's "sharp [mental] impressions." The small but powerful line drawings that hover in the margins of sheets such as *Venus Lamenting Adonis* (Plate 14) might thus have been intended not only to condense a complex idea in Senecan fashion to its most potent form, but also to help impress that image through the sense of sight and into the mind of the work's viewers in the most memorable, affective way possible. In short, the form and quality of the contour drawing as a distilled, graphic expression of content, also mattered: *ingenium* – and the authorial signature of Rubens's inimitable hand and mind – *in brevitas*.[233] Understood in the context of Lipsius's and Rubens's desire for producing newly updated and available models, the exercise of drawing and writing personal letters that could be seen, held, and studied closely ("there it is!") offered rich material for an expanded storehouse of images, contributing to a wider visual and linguistic vocabulary from which Rubens and his contemporaries literally and figuratively drew.

When considering the significant literary and pictorial overlaps between drawing and personal letter writing in the Lipsian and Rubensian spheres, it is perhaps most significant to note that Lipsius described the processes and motivations of personal letter writing and drawing *as virtually interchangeable* in the *Epistolica Institutio*. He directly linked the intimate medium of personal letter writing to the intellect and character of the maker: letters were conceived, like drawings, as visible forms of the

author's clearly conceived ideas. When defending his brand of robust rhetorical eloquence, Lipsius turned to drawing as a metaphor for the importance of mature imitation and eloquence in writing – much as Quintilian, Cicero, and Renaissance writers including Paolo Giovio used the metaphor of painting to illustrate the potential of rhetorical eloquence before him.[234] In one instance in the *Epistolica Institutio*, Lipsius wrote about the process of constructing letters in terms of an eloquent draftsman who forms a body first through a rough sketch that he progressively develops through a mature, judicious use of a medley of models. This metaphor is telling for the way it brings together drawing, letter writing, eclectic imitation, and the conceptual interests of a pedagogically obsessed thinker concerned with improving the "body" of style:

> Just as a painter, when he takes up a canvas, *first sketches in the whole man, then seeks the right colors and adds them to each part, so my imitator first forms the body of his eloquence, then looks for varied colors*. Unless he does so (take heed now, young man, or you will take heed too late,) he always brings forth an elliptical, disorganized, motley shape in a medley of styles . . . [*my emphasis*].[235]

In this instance, drawing (like letter writing) offered the artist the opportunity to sketch in Lipsius's "message of the mind" (*animi nuntium*) – "the body of his eloquence" – first, before adding the last, "top" layer of color.[236] The upshot to Lipsius's metaphor is that only a mature painter or writer ("take heed now, young man") can achieve this well, lest their eclecticism result not in the formation of something new and intellectually coherent, but rather in "an elliptical, disorganized, motley shape in a medley of styles" – the superficial garb of eclecticism without the underlying body of meaning. In this pedagogical framework, achieving eloquence not only involved eclectic imitation, but also study and maturity which lent themselves to formal organization and conceptual clarity; that is, to a body of art in which a substantive idea, often with moral implications, is garbed in appropriate, formal clothing.

Again, fears about superficiality seem to have informed this new approach to eloquence. As Seneca warned in his *Letters to Lucilius*, style not only held the potential to characterize the individual and the age, but could also become popular and dangerously corrupted in certain places and times, for example through excessive imitation.[237] In a related warning in the *Epistolica Institutio* which directly recalls warnings in Rubens's own Imitation treatise, Lipsius invoked none other than the metaphor of drawing to castigate those who paid too much attention to literalizing ("slavish") imitation and the form of remarkable words or phrases at the expense of the underlying substance or countenance of the whole. Here, Lipsius's qualitative, bodily metaphor revolved around the unskilled draftsman drawing a face, paying more attention to superficial marks than the subject's "native quality" or underlying character, much as unskilled pupils paid too much attention, in Lipsius's view, to interesting words or constructions when first learning to "taste" language:

> For just as unskilled painters, in drawing a face, easily copy a wrinkle, a wart, or a mole, but neglect the native quality and the countenance itself, just so the young often select rare or startling words, while they mill the natural quality and taste of language [*ingenium omittunt et genium dictionis*].[238]

Elsewhere, Lipsius extended his bodily/portrait metaphor by connecting *brevitas* in drawing and letter writing as similar, self-revelatory practices for masters. Citing Demetrius's commentary on the relative force of the brief, yet allusive, "plain" style in epistles, Lipsius likened the self-revelatory practice of concise letter writing to drawing almost a portrait of his own soul.[239] In this context, Marc Fumaroli highlighted Lipsius's comparison of the letter writer to an artist who "imprints his own soul" on a supposed friend through his work, a mnemonic metaphor that had sensorial and particularly graphic roots.[240]

Other northern contemporaries also drew important connections between personal letters and drawings and the acts of producing them. None other than Père Jean Goulu – the author of Rubens's beloved text on eloquence in the newly revised epistolary sphere discussed earlier – referred to familiar personal letters as "pregnant studies" (*esquisses pregnantes*).[241] Using a French term that also was used for drawings (*esquisses*) at this time further suggests a conceptual overlap between seemingly spontaneous, allusive letters and *non-finito* drawings.[242] Indeed, Goulu explicitly compared reading one of his letters to viewing an unfinished drawing. In his *Lettres de Phyllarque*, he exhorted readers to receive his brief personal letters in the same, subtle manner as the allusive, *non-finito* drawings of Michelangelo![243]

Goulu's direct association of rapidly executed familiar letters with drawing suggests the two genres – one written and one pictorial – similarly held the potential to be allusive, metaphoric, and rich with infinite developments.[244] For Goulu, the practices of letter writing and drawing were linked in the expressive potential of the "condensed style" for carrying deep and sometimes multivalent meanings for informed readers and viewers. A less official locus for treating innumerable subjects in an infinitely varied and erudite way, personal letters – like drawings, and unlike spoken, oratorical address – could be consulted repeatedly, increasing the potential for the expression and reception of multiple, pregnant meanings.[245] Montaigne's writing was praised in the nineteenth century for its complicated layering of ideas in a way that also had visual implications; Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve (1804–69) referred to his writing as "a tissue of metaphors."[246] In Lipsian circles, the writing of personal letters and the production of drawings – especially seemingly unfinished ones – therefore seem to have been viewed as nothing short of cognate activities with similar didactic lessons for students and grander, prescriptive potential especially for erudite masters like Lipsius and Rubens arguably seeking new classically inspired models for a new age.

In the end, it is in this broader literary, philosophical, and social context that Rubens's stated desire to fashion a new (mature) art out of a new, eclectic diet of classical models and a robust joining of matter and form must surely be read.[247] Ultimately, Rubens's drawings' rhetorical success – like that of Lipsius's and Rubens's personal epistles – resided in the quality and pregnancy of his signs, his erudite and judicious use of models, and in the flexibility and allusiveness of his (graphic) language. Bound up in Rubens's pragmatic interest in creating substantive models that could be used and reused as needed for his studio painting practice, his use of drawings as pedagogical models in the studio, and his desire to create a new, healthier body of graphic eloquence from the intelligence of the ancients, many of his formative sheets paradoxically stand as intimate "messages of the mind" of an ambitious, polyphonic orator bringing forth his ideas visually into *evidentia*. Rich with meaning, muscular in approach, and often open to visible process, such drawings frequently constituted

the formal *and* conceptual basis of the newly "living" and more substantive approach to painting for which Rubens is often credited.

To demonstrate these crucial points, though, requires turning to the close examination of individual examples of Rubens's formative drawings, with an eye to slowly unravelling their eloquent and deeply conceptual structures. For the proof of Rubens's commitment to forming a new body of eloquence in drawing – that is, to highlighting his authorial status as the "Eloquent I," and ensuring *disegno*'s status as the formal *and* conceptual "mother of painting" in his workshop – resides, as Rubens almost certainly intended, in the drawings themselves. Offering the potential for more vigorous, enlivened models for a new era, and destined for increasingly discriminating viewers and collectors with a humanist bent for what Lipsius scholar Thomas Greene called "archaeological excavation,"[248] these drawings – like Rubens's and Lipsius's personal letters – embodied poetic content, artistic vigor, and the inimitable signature of the erudite draftsman's god-like mind and creating hand. Recovering these meanings first in his project of drawing (with an eye to their later use and transformation in painting) by paying careful attention to Rubens's "style of a thought" and his generative grammars in drawing is now, as then, the reward.

Note on the Demonstrative Case Studies

The following chapter-long demonstrative case studies feature poetic drawings, both securely attributed to Rubens, that were executed during the artist's most formative period in Rome and just after he returned to Antwerp when his studio became the largest in northern Europe. These sheets were chosen, in part, to reflect Rubens's eclectic graphic approach. They feature a seemingly simple, rough pen-and-ink sketch of a grieving mother with dead children (Plate 15) and an elaborated anatomical chalk drawing of a kneeling man that is often described as drawn after a live studio model (Plate 30). Both depict motifs that Rubens translated numerous times in paintings, sometimes even decades after the drawings' original execution, and both represent works whose primary motifs or themes reappear in copies or drawings by Rubens's pupils or assistants. In part, both drawings were thus also selected for their conceptual and formal preparatory role in Rubens's larger enterprise.

As these case studies will demonstrate, Rubens's graphic approach to drawing could be highly rhetorical, with meanings – as in the informal epistolary sphere – resting on an often complex mix of putative subject, imitative models aptly disposed and transformed, and internal stylistic distinctions geared towards constructing a poetic argument in drawing. While the drawings appear simple on their face, both are founded upon judiciously selected emulative models and complex, classically inspired ideas that are often couched to elude quick recognition. As a result, they necessitate both a *connoisseurial* and *archaeological* approach to their study. For this reason, the case studies also necessarily read as extended rhetorical arguments designed to unearth and deconstruct the considerable breadth of learning and eclectic, imitative models that are graphically distilled into nothing more than lines and shading.

What these case studies ultimately seek to demonstrate is the workings of a highly poetic draftsman, who in his most formative and prolific period of drawing, embraced important ideas and rhetorical strategies with great social and moral implications also advanced in Lipsian Neostoic and Rubens's own circles, especially in the sphere

of the personal epistle. With an eclectic range of esteemed models and ideas at their base, these accretive constructions – in which layers of meaning could be generated through a combination of selecting and transforming apt, meaning-laden models, judiciously disposed, stylistically conscious grammars of drawing, and a close attention to the marriage of form and content – were likely intended as reflexive mirrors of the creative (and creating) artist himself. At the same time, they offered new, more robust alterable models that could feed and conceptually help sustain Rubens's painting practice for a new era. Their rather simple, artless looks belie both their complex artifice and the mnemonic and intellectual signature of their inimitable maker.

While not all of Rubens's drawings could be – nor should be – put under such interpretative pressure,[249] these rhetorical exemplars were ultimately selected to demonstrate that at least some of Rubens's formative drawings deeply engage the classically inspired art of eloquence, especially in its modern, Lipsian epistolary form, *translated into, or expressed in, the graphic sphere at the very foundations of Rubens's art*. Finally, these studies serve to signal some of the ways that Rubens *thought* as a draftsman and some of the strategies and concerns he borrowed or shared with his literary contemporaries to create a virile, robust art. These included a characteristic way of thinking that prized an apt, eclectic approach to the best visual and textual models of the past; an unsurpassed commitment to the harmonious marriage of graphic form and content that prized substance over style; a flexible and generative approach to grammars of drawing in which underlying meanings are often hinged on stylistic distinctions, context, and judicious disposition; a consistent consciousness of a presumed viewer; and a muscular – sometimes seemingly unfinished and self-emulative – style that betrayed both supreme self-confidence and the energy and labor of an already erudite, but still seeking and assimilating, intellect who loved to design in his mind as much as on paper. In short, these drawings represent Rubens's new approach to stronger, more robust models, destined for a new age, with esteemed classical and contemporary virtues at their core. Designed to persuade, teach, and please, and to offer eminently alterable conceptual and formal models for Rubens's future work, they were arguably designed to stand in for the virtues of the artist himself, and his own inimitable, signature style of thinking and creating the old anew.

Notes

1 On the issues of the rising sense of self and historical consciousness in early modern Europe, see Charles Taylor's seminal *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989) and *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007). On the notion of early modern "self-fashioning," see Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980). For the rising importance of aesthetic discriminations and art collecting in Rubens's Flanders, see Elizabeth Honig's excellent chapter on "Value in Display and the Aesthetic of Judgment" in *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 170–212. For Dutch *liefhebbers* (or *leefhebbers*) and their desire to spend fortunes on art, especially on antiquities, see, for example, Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1634; London: Clarendon Press, 1906), 105.

2 Lipsius contributed to the opening of the Plantin Press in Leiden in 1583. The Plantin (and later Plantin-Moretus) Press published Lipsius's first edition of the works of Tacitus (1574), his *De Constantia* (1584), *Politicorum Libri Sex* (1589), *De Epistolica Institutio*

(Leiden, 1591), *Manuductionis ad Stoicam philosophiam libri tres* and *Physiologiae Stoicorum Libri Tres, L. Annaeo Senecae Philosophi Opera* . . . (Antwerp, 1605); and Lipsius, *Opera Omnia* (1615) to name a few. For Lipsius's participation in the opening of the Plantin Press, see Jan Waszink's introduction to Justus Lipsius, *Politica*, ed. Waszink (Assen: Biblioteca Latinitatis Novae, 2004), 21. For other Plantin Press publications, see *Netherlandish Books: Books Published in the Low Countries and Dutch Books Printed Abroad before 1601*, eds. Andrew Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

3 The commission for the new Jesuit Church in Antwerp, consecrated in 1625 and the first church dedicated to St. Ignatius of Loyola, included the designs for 39 ceiling paintings (no longer extant). This was Rubens's most visible commission for the Jesuits in Antwerp. John Rupert Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, CRLB, pt. 1 (Brussels/London: Harvey Miller, 1968). On Rubens's important role in the Church's Counter-Reformation aims, see David Freedberg, "Painting and the Counter-Reformation in the Age of Rubens," in *The Age of Rubens*, ed. Sutton, 131–45.

4 According to Joseph McDonald, S.J., "The sketches [for the illustrated *Vita*] were made by the Society's good friend, Peter Paul Rubens, who greatly desired to help in the cause of the canonization of Ignatius Loyola." "The Life of St. Ignatius Loyola: A Pictorial Biography," accessed October 5, 2014: http://www.faculty.fairfield.edu/jmac/Loyola/Loyola.htm.

5 On this historically complex topic, see *Origins and Development of the Dutch Revolt*, ed. Darby; Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World*; and Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*.

6 For example, in a letter dated October 21, 1627 to Pierre Dupuy about the violent ravages of the Thirty Years War in Europe, Rubens wrote, "The affairs of Flanders are insignificant and of little importance compared to those of Germany or France." He then proceeded to discuss the complex political situation at some length. Magurn, *Letters*, no. 131. It is striking how many of Rubens's letters display such details of political knowledge in the context of such worries about the outcome of hostilities.

7 Ibid., p. 5. According to Magurn, Brueghel acted as his secretary around 1610 in part due to his superior skills in writing in Italian. Ibid.

8 For Lipsius's emphasis on public engagement as an answer to the sickness and instability of the body politic, see McCrea, *Constant Minds*, 4, and 339; and Halvard Leira, "Justus Lipsius, political humanism and the disciplining of 17th century statecraft" (paper presented at the 6th Pan-European International Conference, Turin, Italy, September 2007), 7, accessed July 13, 2015, http://www.eisa-net.org/be-bruga/eisa/files/events/turin/Leira-Lipsius%20ECPR2007.pdf. For more on the broader social turmoil and struggles to overcome them in the period, see Theodore K. Raab, *The Struggle for Stability in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

9 On imitation as it pertains to seventeenth-century humanist art, see Maria H. Loh, "New and Improved: Repetition as Originality in Italian Baroque Practice and Theory," *Art Bulletin* 86, no. 3 (September 2004): 477–504. On the question of style's role in Renaissance humanist artistic traditions, see, for example, Patricia Rubin who highlights how Raphael and his contemporaries participated in, and responded to, a culture in which "styles were fashionable." Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* (Venice, 1528) was essentially a stylistic treatise on manners and decorum. Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari*, 358–59.

10 See, for example, Pietro Bembo, *De Imitatione* (1530), in *De L'Imitation: Le Modèle Stylistique à la Renaissance*, trans. Luc Hersant (Paris: Aralia, 1996), esp. 43, 72–73, 108; and Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari*, 358–59.

11 On Raphael and Aretino in this regard: Ernst H. Gombrich, "The Style '*all'antica*': Imitation and Assimilation," in *Norm and Form: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (London: Phaidon Press, 1966), 127, and under n. 20.

12 John Shearman, *Mannerism* (New York: Penguin Books, 1967), 18. Shearman also notes the shift from the more positive term, *manieroso*, used in the sixteenth century, to the pejorative *manierato* used in the seventeenth century, and the highly pejorative *maniériste* used in France in the eighteenth century. Ibid., 19. See also Shearman, "*Maniera* as an

Aesthetic Ideal (1967)," in *Readings in Italian Mannerism*, ed. Liana de Girolami Cheney, with a foreword by Craig Hugh Smyth (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 200–21.

13 Impetuous hatches, "T" notations, and "hasty scribbles" characterized Rembrandt's manner of unfinished, sketchy and sometimes rough draftsmanship. K.G. Boon and Peter Schatborn, *Dutch Genre Drawings of the Seventeenth Century*, exh. cat. (New York: International Exhibitions Foundation, 1972–73), 8–10. For how closely Rembrandt's pupils imitated his drawing style, see Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann,"Rembrandt as a Draughtsman: The Changing Image 1956–1988," *Master Drawings* 37, no. 2 (1989): 107. For the related proliferation of Rembrandt's painting style by his students, see Svetlana Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise: The Studio and the Market* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 59.

14 Garff and Pedersen, *Rubens Cantoor*; and *Rubens Cantoor*, ed. Hans Nieuwdorp.

15 For a discussion of the history of the Rubens versus Van Dyck attribution problem, see Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, 75–77, under no. 24; and Logan, *The Drawings*, 88–89, under no. 12, fig. 47 (identified as the Death of Dido, Queen of Carthage). Held, Müller Hofstede, Huemer, Michael Jaffé, Logan, and McGrath all have given the drawing to Rubens. I also included the drawing as by Rubens in my 2000 dissertation; Lusheck, "Rubens's Graphic Eclecticism," 168–70. Frits Lugt (*Inventaire Général*, vol. 1, no. 591), for one, accepted the Van Dyck attribution. For a discussion of the Rubens attribution (and the drawing's relationship to a securely attributed sheet in the collection of Bowdoin College), see also David P. Becker, *Old Master Drawings at Bowdoin College*, exh. cat. (Brunswick, ME: Bowdoin Museum College of Art, 1985), 31–32, under no. 13.

16 Cennini warned against the possible deleterious effects of copying after too many models. Cennino Cennini, *Il libro dell'arte*, ed. Daniel V. Thompson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933), 14–15 (chapters xxvii–xxviii); see also *Leonardo's Writings and Theory of Art*, ed. Claire Farago (New York/London: Garland Publishing, 1999), 216–17, under n. 23.

17 Ibid.; citing B.N. 2038, fol. 10r, and Leonardo da Vinci, *The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci*, ed. John Paul Richter (1888; New York: Dover, 1970), no. 483.

18 See, for example, Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, trans. G. Bull, vol. 1 (London: Penguin, 1965), 26–47.

19 Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari*, 39. For Vasari's "Life of Raphael," see Vasari/Bull, *Lives*, vol. 1, 284–324.

20 Ibid., 286–87; and 316–17.

21 For the connection between Raphael and Apelles and the values of *grazia* and *venustas*, see T.C.P. Zimmerman, "Paolo Giovio and the Evolution of Renaissance Art Criticism," in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance. Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. C.H. Clough (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), 416; and Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari*, 376–77. Vasari later criticized Raphael for striving for too much variety and grandeur at the expense of "his own style." Vasari/Bull, "Life of Raphael," *Lives*, vol. 1, 317–18. On Zeuxis's relevance for Rubens, see Muller, "Theory and Practice of Imitation," 235.

22 For Rubens's collection of drawings, see Muller, *The Artist as Collector*; and Belkin and Healy, *A House of Art. Rubens as Collector*. For more on his copied and retouched drawings after earlier masters, see Belkin, *Copies and Adaptions: German and Netherlandish Artists*; and Jeremy Wood, *Rubens. Copies and Adaptions from the Renaissance and Later Artists*.

23 Annibale Carracci similarly worked to synthesize multiple traditions, especially Florentine *disegno* with Venetian *colore*. Posner, *Annibale Carracci*, 77–92; and David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 81, under n. 35.

24 Copied fragment of a letter from Rubens to Sauveur Ferrary, Antwerp, spring 1623(?); Magurn, *Letters*, no. 51.

25 Ibid. See also Rooses, *Rubens*, vol. 2, 358.

26 Examples of important sources on classical, rhetorical traditions in Italian Renaissance art, especially drawing, include Loh, "Repetition as Originality"; David Rosand, *Drawing Acts: Studies in Graphic Expression and Representation* (Cambridge: Cambridge

University Press, 2002); Philip Sohm, *Style in the Art Theory of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Barzman, *The Florentine Academy*; Bambach et al., *Leonardo da Vinci*; Martin Kemp, "'Equal Excellences': Lomazzo and the Explanation of Individual Style in the Visual Arts," *Renaissance Studies* 1, no. 1 (1987): 1–26; Ames-Lewis, *Drawing in Early Renaissance Italy*, 1981; David Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); and Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition, 1350–1450* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971).

27 For Vasari's use of *maniera*, see for example his "Life of Giotto" and "Life of Brunelleschi," in Vasari, *Le vite*, eds. Bettarini and Barocchi, vol. 2, 97 and vol. 3, 141.

28 Lomazzo, *Trattato* (1584); discussed in Posner, *Annibale Carracci*, 77–92. On Rubens and Lomazzo, see also Muller, "Theory and Practice of Imitation," 234. On Lomazzo's approach to style and imitation, see also Kemp, "Equal Excellences."

29 Ames-Lewis also highlighted drawing's expanded role in problem solving in the Renaissance. *Drawing in Early Renaissance Italy*, 17.

30 Walter Melion, "Karel van Mander's 'Life of Goltzius': Defining the Paradigm of Protean Virtue in Haarlem around 1600," *Studies in the History of Art* 27 (1989): 121.

31 For Rubens's knowledge of Van Mander, see E. Juntunen, "Rubens, Van Mander und Goltzius. Juno und Argus und der kunsttheoretische Diskurs in den nördlichen Niederlanden," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 55* (2004): 244–69.

32 For example, Samuel van Hoogstraten urged students to imitate their master's manner of drawing in *Inleyding*, 27. On Van Hoogstraten, see also Celeste Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion: The Art and Writing of Samuel van Hoogstraten* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

33 Willem Goeree, *Inleydinge tot Al-ghemeene Teycken-Konst* (Middleburg, 1668), 38; as cited in Peter Schatborn, *Dutch Figure Drawings from the Seventeenth Century* (The Hague: Government Publishing Office, 1981), 12. On the practice and instruction of drawing in early modern Dutch treatises, see also E.A. de Klerk, "'Academy-Beelden' and 'Teeken-Schoolen' in Dutch Seventeenth-Century Treatises on Art," in *Academies of Art between Renaissance and Romanticism*, eds. A. Boschloo et al. (The Hague: SDU Uitgeverij, 1989), 283–87.

34 Ibid., 26; and under n. 30–31; Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.*, X.ii.14–28.

35 Karel van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vrij schilder-const* (1604), ed. Hessel Miedema (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1973), fol. 5r, stanza 46; as translated in Eric Jan Sluijter, *Rembrandt and the Female Nude*, Amsterdam Studies in the Dutch Golden Age (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 2006), 254, and under n. 20.

36 Ibid., 253–54.

37 Van Mander devoted Book 12 of his *Grondt* to the handling of the brush. For Van de Wetering's discussion of *handeling* in Van Mander and Van Hoogstraten, see *A Corpus of Rembrandt's Paintings V: The Small Scale History Paintings*, ed. Ernst van de Wetering (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011), chapter 1; esp. 113–15. For Van Hoogstraten's notion of manner related to the "diversity of things," see *Inleyding*, 234–35; and Van de Wetering, *Corpus*, 123 and under n. 360.

38 Van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding*, 30; as cited and discussed in Van de Wetering, *Corpus*, 122 and under n. 353.

39 Walter Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-boeck* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 2–5.

40 On graphic styles and discrimination in the Rudolfine court, see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Drawings from the Holy Roman Empire, 1540–1680: A Selection from North American Collections* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982). On Rembrandt's late graphic style, Nicola Courtright, "Origins and Meanings of Rembrandt's Late Drawing Style," *Art Bulletin* 78, no. 3 (1996): 485–510.

41 Kaufmann, *Drawings from the Holy Roman Empire, 1540–1680*, 22 and section II. On low and high styles contextualized within the rise of the vernacular in the north in literary circles, see Jean-Claude Margolin, "Érasme, Prince des Bergers," in *Érasme dans son miroir et dans son sillage* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1987), 423.

42 Peter Miller's *Peiresc's Europe: Learning and Virtue in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000) characterizes the antiquarian culture in which Rubens lived and worked. On antiquarian book culture in Renaissance Italy, see Paula Findlen, "Possessing the Past: The Material World of the Italian Renaissance," *American Historical Review* 103 (1998): 83–114. For humanist gift culture in early modern France, see Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

43 Erasmus's idea of *copia* was inspired by Quintilian's use of *copia rerum ac verborum* in his first-century *Institutio Oratoria*. Introduction to Desiderius Erasmus, "*Copia*: Foundations of the Abundant Style (*De duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarii duo*)," trans. and annotated by Betty I. Knott, in *Collected Works of Erasmus: Literary and Educational Writings I*, ed. Craig R. Thompson, vol. 24 (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1978), xxv and under n. 56; see also Erasmus, *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum*, ed. and annotated by Betty I. Knott, in *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami (ASD)*, vol. 1.6 (Amsterdam: North Holland, 1988).

44 Peter Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric, 1380–1620*, eds. Charles Hope and Ian Maclean (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 28.

45 Mark Morford, "Life and Letters in Lipsius's Teaching," in *Iustus Lipsius, Europae Lumen Et Columen: Proceedings of the International Colloquium*, Leuven 17–19 September 1997, *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia* XV, eds. Gilbert Tournoy et al. (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999), 116.

46 For the spread and shifting popularity of classical rhetoric treatises in sixteenth-century northern Europe, see Mack, *Renaissance Rhetoric*, 3; and chapters 2–3. For a recent, trustworthy catalogue of Renaissance rhetoric titles: Lawrence Green and James Murphy, *Renaissance Rhetoric Short-Title Catalogue, 1460–1700* (Aldershot: Ashgate Press, 2006).

47 The contents of Rubens's library are discussed by de Schepper, *Rubens en zijn bibliotheek*; and MacRae, "Rubens's Library." Gauricus's *De Sculptura* (1504) informed Rubens's cubic idea of the robust man; Van der Meulen, *Copies after the Antique*, vol. 1, 16, under n. 16. For the Rubens-Dupuy correspondence, see Magurn, *Letters*, nos. 134, 162, and 164.

48 This was a contemporary moniker for Junius; see the inscription on Junius's portrait in Jean-Jacques Boissard and Theodor de Bry's *Bibliotheca chalcographica* . . . (Frankfurt, 1652), t. 8.

49 Melchior Junius, *Methodus eloquentiae comparandae* (Strasbourg, 1585), sig. A3r–v. According to Mack, "Junius urges pupils to begin with *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and *Partiones oratoriae* before moving on to *De oratore*, Quintilian, Aristotle, and Hermogenes." Mack, *Renaissance Rhetoric*, under n. 86.

50 Ibid., 162.

51 Ibid., 163, 185, and 310. On the intersection of the early Jesuits with Rubens and his circle, see especially Erik Larsen and Vernon Hyde Minor, "Peter Paul Rubens and the Society of Jesus," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 46, 1–4 (1977): 48–54.

52 See Claude Pavur, S.J., *The Ratio Studiorum: The Official Plan for Jesuit Education* (Saint Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005). On *eloquentia perfecta* and early Jesuit visual traditions, see John W. O'Malley, "*Eloquentia*: A Short History," *America* 16 (May 2011): 13–18; *The Jesuits and the Arts: 1540–1773*, eds. John W. O'Malley and Gauvin A. Bailey (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2005); and O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).

53 Allan P. Ferrell, S.J., ed. and trans., *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599* (Washington, D.C.: Conference of Major Superiors of Jesuits, 1970), 79–80. On the *Ratio Studiorum*, see also John W. Donohue, *Jesuit Education: An Essay on the Foundation of its Idea* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1963); John Atteberry, "Humanities and Rhetoric," in *Ratio Studiorum: Jesuit Education 1540–1773*, eds. John Atteberry and John Russell (Boston: Boston College, 1999); and Pavur, *The Ratio Studiorum*. For Lipsius's Jesuit training at the Bursa Nova Tricoronata in Cologne in 1559–64, see Papy, "Justus Lipsius."

54 Loh, "Repetition as Originality," 485.

55 See Chapter 1 in this volume.
56 For a brief but helpful overview of the notion of *copia* introduced by Cicero and later applied by Quintilian and Erasmus, see Knott, introduction to "*Copia*: Foundations of the Abundant Style," xxiv–xxxv. Knott also notes the possibility of "fullness" or "richness" as English translations for *copia*, though she argues none are satisfactory. Ibid., xxxv, under n. 56.
57 Cicero, *De Oratore* 1.19.85, 2.14.58; see also Mack, *Renaissance Rhetoric*, 80 and under n. 14.
58 *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 1.1.1; see also Mack, 80 and under n. 14.
59 Cicero, *De Oratore*, 3.9; cited in *Ciceronian Controversies*, ed. DellaNeva, 242.
60 According to Mack, this approach involved privileging "a broad range of ideas and arguments" more than "a style which is highly amplified." *Renaissance Rhetoric*, 80.
61 Muller, "Theory and Practice of Imitation," 236 and under n. 65.
62 Ibid., 245–46.
63 For an engraving after this design, see London, British Museum (inv. 1874,0808.1874).
64 McGrath, *Subjects from History*, vol. 2, 54, no. 8 and under n. 11; also discussed in Aneta Georgievska-Shine and Larry Silver, *Rubens, Velázquez and the King of Spain* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Press, 2014), 257 and under n. 55.
65 Cicero, *De inventione*, 2.1.1–3; discussed in *Ciceronian Controversies*, ed. DellaNeva, 242 and under ns. 29 and 30. See also Loh, "Repetition as Originality," 485–87.
66 Van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vrij schilder-const* (1604), ed. Hessel Miedema, vol. 2 (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1973), 435; and Muller, "Theory and Practice of Imitation," 235. Wolfgang Adler noted Rubens's desire to emulate Zeuxis in *Landscapes*, vol. 1, 71, and under n. 1. For Zeuxis's spread in early modern humanist circles including in the Lowlands, see Elizabeth Mansfield, *Too Beautiful to Picture: Zeuxis, Myth and Mimesis* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 48–49; and Leonard Barkan, "The Heritage of Zeuxis: Painting, Rhetoric, and History," in *Antiquity and its Interpreters*, eds. Alina Payne, Ann Kuttner, and Rebekah Smick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 99–109.
67 For mention of Rubens and Vasari referring to themselves as "The New Zeuxis," see *Encyclopedia of Comparative Iconography: Themes Depicted in Works of Art*, ed. Helene E. Roberts (London: Routledge, 1998), 808. Rubens was also called "The Apelles of Our Age." Letter from Balthasar Moretus to Corderius, 2 August 1630, cited by Held, *Rubens and the Book*, 33.
68 Harrewijn also executed a different view of the Antwerp villa and frieze after Jacques van Croes dated 1692 (Antwerp, Rubenshuis). For the most important source on the decoration of Rubens's house, see Elizabeth McGrath, "The Painted Decoration of Rubens's House." McGrath dates the designs to 1618–21. Ibid., 247.
69 Fredrika H. Jakobs, "Vasari's Vision of the History of Painting: Frescoes in the Casa Vasari, Florence," *Art Bulletin* 66 (September 1984): 399–416, esp. 401–02; and discussed in Mansfield, *Zeuxis, Myth and Mimesis*, 46–47; and ill. 10.
70 Karel van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, from the *First Edition of the Schilder-boeck*, trans. Hessel Miedema (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994), 438; as cited in Mansfield, *Zeuxis, Myth and Mimesis*, 183, under n. 29.
71 Logan, *The Drawings*, 252, and under n. 1.
72 For Quintilian's use of *copia*, and his argument that words should be judiciously and appropriately matched with the thing expressed, see especially *Inst. Orat.*, X.i.5–15. For his discussion of painting in the context of his pedagogical treatise on robust oratory, see Ibid., XII.x.3–9; and R.G. Austin, "Quintilian on Painting and Statuary," *The Classical Quarterly* 38, no. 1–2 (Jan.–Apr. 1944): 17–26.
73 For Cicero's and Quintilian's substantial influence on Rubens's ideas of imitation, see Muller, "Theory and Practice of Imitation," 234, 236, 238, 245. On Quintilian, see also John Logie, "Quintilian and Roman Authorship," *Rhetoric Review* 22 (2003): 353–73; and James J. Murphy, ed. *Quintilian on the Teaching of Speaking and Writing: Translations from Books One, Two, and Ten of the Institutio Oratoria* (Edwardville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987). For Quintilian's debt to Aristotle in this regard,

see Gideon Burton, "Content/Form," *Silvae Rhetorica* (Salt Lake City: Brigham Young University), accessed April 12, 2016: http://rhetoric.byu.edu/Encompassing%20Terms/Content%20and%20Form.htm.

74 Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.*, II.xi.

75 Ibid., II.iii.147. Still, according to Quintilian, ideas should not be expressed in "too strong" a manner lest they potentially destroy the balance of delicacy and force necessary to robust oratory.

76 For Quintilian's notion of how *copia* could reflect the art and good character of the orator, see Arthur E. Walzer, "Quintilian's '*Vir Bonus*' and the Stoic Wise Man," *Rhetoric Society* 33 (2003): 36–7. As Jan Waszink observed, for Cicero and Quintilian, "only a good man could be a good orator . . . [I]n rhetoric, or *ars bene dicendi* ('the art of speaking well') *bene* has the double meaning of 'technically good, convincing' as well as 'morally good.'" Lipsius/Waszink, *Politica*, 50.

77 On Junius's borrowings from Quintilian, see for example Junius, *Painting of the Ancients*, XII.10.76; and VIII.3.6, in Aldrich and Fehl, *Literature of Classical Art*, in which Junius cites Quintilian: "The dignitie belonging to a man [*ornatus virilis*] must be stout and uncorrupted . . ." For more on Junius's and Rubens's use of Quintilian for guidance in painting the robust male nude, see Chapter 4, in this volume. On Rubens and Junius: Fehl, "Touchstones of Art," 5–24.

78 On Junius's work in an art theoretical context, see Colette Nativel, "A Plea for Franciscus Junius as Art Theoretician," in *Franciscus Junius F.F. and His Circle*, ed. Rolf H. Bremmer Jr. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988), 19–34.

79 Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.*, II.ii.3. For Quintilian's notion of eloquence, see esp. books VIII–X.

80 Ibid., II.iii.

81 Muller, "Theory and Practice of Imitation," esp. 229–33.

82 Ibid., 238.

83 On the northern epistolary tradition, see Marc Fumaroli, "À l'origine d'un art français: la correspondance familière," in *La diplomatie de l'esprit: De Montaigne à La Fontaine*, Collection Savoire (Paris: Hermann, 1994), 163–82. For Lipsius's interest in Seneca's *Letters to Lucilius*, for example, see Toon van Houdt and Jan Papy, "*Modestia, Constantia, Fama:* Towards a Literary and Philosophical Interpretation of Lipsius's *De Calumnia Oratio*," in *Iustus Lipsius*, eds. Tournoy et al., 214–15 (*Epist.*, 102.17), and 220.

84 Pigman, "Versions of Imitation," 5–6.

85 For Rubens's Senecan approach, see Vander Auwera, "Just as the bee imbibes," 66–70. On both recognizable (eristic) and disguised imitation in Rubens, see Georgievska-Shine, *Rubens and the Archaeology of Myth*, 13–14.

86 Bacon drew a direct connection between Seneca's epistles and his own essays. In Bacon's words, his works were conceived as "certain brief notes, set down rather significantly than curiously, which I have called *Essays*. The word is late, but the thing ancient. For Seneca's epistles to Lucilius, if one marks them well, are but Essays, that is dispersed meditations, though conveyed in the form of epistles." *Selected Writings of Francis Bacon*, ed. Hugh G. Dick (New York: Modern Library, 1955), 6. See also Robert V. Young's introduction to Justus Lipsius, *Principles of Letter-writing: A Bilingual Text of Ivsti Lipsi Epistolica Institutio*, eds. R.V. Young and M. Thomas Hester, The Library of Renaissance Humanism (Carbondsdale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1996), xxxv–xxxvi.

87 *Letters to Lucilius*, letter 84, 3–4, in Seneca, *Ad Lucilium Epistulae morales*, ed. and trans. Gummere.

88 Rubens to Franciscus Junius, August 1637, in Harrison et al., *Art in Theory*, 28–29.

89 Ibid.

90 Ibid.

91 For Seneca's idea that *talis hominibus fuit oratio qualis vita*, see William J. Dominik, "The Style Is the Man: Seneca, Tacitus, and Quintilian's Canon," in *Roman Eloquence: Rhetoric in Society and Literature*, ed. William J. Dominik (London/New York: Routledge, 1997), 48.

92 For the Jesuit idea that "the medium was the message," as promoted in the *Ratio Studiorum*, see Loyola Marymount University, Center for Teaching Excellence, "Jesuit Rhetorical Arts: *Eloquentia Perfecta*" (Los Angeles, 2013), accessed February 27, 2013: https://www.lmu.edu/Assets/Centers+$!2b+Institutes/Center+for+Teaching+Excellence/Jesuit+Rhetorical+Arts.pdf.

93 For the seminal work on eloquence in seventeenth-century French and Flemish circles, see Marc Fumaroli, *L'Âge de l'éloquence: Rhétorique et "res literaria" de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique*, Bibliothèque de l'Évolution de l'Humanité (Paris: Albin Michel, 1980).

94 For more on eloquence in the period, and the relationship between form and subject in seventeenth-century French Attic theater, see Fumaroli, *L'Âge de l'éloquence*; Terence Cave, *The Cornucopian Text: Problems of Writing in the French Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press/Oxford University Press, 1979), 270–321; Jerrold E. Seigel, *Rhetoric and Philosophy in Renaissance Humanism: The Union of Eloquence and Wisdom, Petrarch to Valla* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968); Harry T. Barnwell, "Seventeenth-Century Tragedy: A Question of Disposition," in *Studies in French Literature Presented to H.W. Lawton*, eds. J.C. Ireson et al. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968), 13–28; Barnwell, "Tragedy and Painting in the Seventeenth Century: Aspects of a Common Aesthetic?" *Newsletter for the Society of Seventeenth-Century French Studies* 3, no. 1 (January 1981), 38–44; and Barnwell, *The Tragic Drama of Corneille and Racine: An Old Parallel Revisited* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982). For an early source on eloquence, see Henry Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence: Conteyning the Figures of Grammar and Rhetorick* (London, 1577).

95 This idea is addressed throughout in William D. Howarth et al., eds., *Form and Meaning: Aesthetic Coherence in Seventeenth-Century French Drama*, *Studies Presented to Harry Barnwell* (Amersham, Eng.: Avebury Publishing, 1982).

96 For the relevance of Aristotelian form and matter to Rubens's Roman period, see Rubens, *De Imitatione Statuarum* in De Piles, *Cours de peinture*, 82–85. On the Aristotelian foundations of these concepts, see K. Fine, "A Puzzle Concerning Matter and Form," in *Unity, Identity and Explanation in Aristotle's Metaphysics*, eds. T.D. Charles Scaltas and M.L. Gill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 13–40; W.S. Sellars, "Substance and Form in Aristotle," *Journal of Philosophy* 54 (1957): 688–99; and Thomas Ainswoth, "Form vs. Matter," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (Spring 2016 edition), accessed June 26, 2016, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2016/entries/form-matter/.

97 Marc Fumaroli, "La diplomatie au service de la méthode," in *La diplomatie de l'esprit: de Montaigne à La Fontaine*, 388.

98 Fumaroli, "Rhétorique et dramaturgie: le statut du personage dans la tragédie classique," *Revue d'Histoire du Théâtre* 24 (1972): 224–50; as succinctly summarized in Richard A. Brooks, H. Gaston Hall, and David Clark Cabeen, eds., *A Critical Bibliography of French Literature: The Seventeenth Century Supplement* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1983), 23.

99 Fumaroli, *L'Âge de l'éloquence*, 29.

100 On Lipsius's championing of *simplicitas*, see Morford, "Life and Letters," 119.

101 According to Marc Foglia, "Montaigne managed to internalize a huge breadth of reading, so that his erudition does not appear as such." "Michel de Montaigne," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (Spring 2014), accessed August 8, 2014: http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/montaigne/.

102 Foglia attributed this to Montaigne's "inseparable unity of thought and style." Ibid.

103 Ibid.

104 Croll, *Style, Rhetoric, and Rhythm*, 6. On the related question and importance of innovation, especially in Montaigne's sphere, see Pierre Force, "Innovation as Spiritual Exercise: Montaigne and Pascal," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 66, no. 1 (January 2005): 17–35.

105 Croll, "'Attic Prose' in the Seventeenth Century," ed. John M. Wallace, in Croll's *Style, Rhetoric, and Rhythm*, 87–88.

106 Ibid., 76.

107 On privileging "quality of style" in the north, see Jacques Chomarat, *Grammaire et Rhétorique chez Érasme*, Les Classiques de l'humanisme, vol. 1 (Paris: Société d'Edition "Les Belles Lettres," 1981), esp. 231–44; and Croll, "'Attic Prose' in the Seventeenth Century," 52–53, 75–77. See also Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, vol. 2, 17, 58–60; and the "Port Royal Grammar" by Antoine Arnauld and Claude Lancelot: *Grammaire générale et raisonnée contenant les fondemens de l'art de parler, expliqués d'une manière claire et naturelle* (Paris, 1660). On Muret and Lipsius in Rome, refer to Papy, "Lipsius's (Neo)Stoicism: Constancy between Christian Faith and Stoic Virtue," in *Grotiana*, eds. Hans Blom and Laurens Winkel, 22/23 (2001/2002): 52 and under n. 16.

108 Lipsius, *Ep. Inst.*, XI; in *Principles of Letter-Writing*, ed. and trans. Young and Hester, 39–41.

109 McCrea, *Constant Minds*, 11.

110 Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, vol. 2, 102–03.

111 Montaigne, "A Consideration on Cicero," in *Essays*, I.XXXIX; as cited in Croll, "Attic Prose: Lipsius, Montaigne, Bacon," in *Style, Rhetoric, and Rhythm*, 178.

112 Croll, "'Attic Prose' in the Seventeenth Century," 67, and under n. 21. See also Antoine Arnauld and P. Nicole, *La Logique, ou L'art de penser* (1662), ed. Louis Marin (Paris: Flammarion Press, 1970), pt. 3, chapter 20.

113 Croll, "'Attic Prose' in the Seventeenth Century," 95.

114 Croll, "The Baroque Style in Prose," in *Style, Rhetoric, and Rhythm*, 207–08; and cited in the introduction to Lipsius, *Principles of Letter-Writing*, eds. Young and Hester, xxxv. Croll's invocation of "copiousness" likely indicates an interest in variety for its own sake.

115 Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics*, 84.

116 See Chapter 1, in this volume.

117 Rudolf Oldenbourg, *Peter Paul Rubens* (Munich/Berlin, 1922), 73.

118 Croll, "'Attic Prose' in the Seventeenth Century," 98–101.

119 McCrea, *Constant Minds*, 4–5. For Lipsian Neostoicism and Tacitean values, including in *De Constantia*, see especially Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*; Evans, *Jonson, Lipsius and Renaissance Stoicism*; Jason L. Saunders, *Justus Lipsius: The Philosophy of Renaissance Stoicism* (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1955); Martin Warnke, "Justus Lipsius und seine Schüler," in *Kommentare zur Rubens* (Berlin: De Gruyter,1965), 33–38; Mark Morford, "Tacitean *Prudentia* and the Doctrines of Justus Lipsius," in *Tacitus and the Tacitean Tradition*, eds. T.J. Luce and A.J. Woodman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 129–51; Jacqueline Lagree, *Juste Lipse et la restauration du stoïcisme: étude et traduction des traités stoiciens. De la constance* . . . (Paris: Vrin, 1994); and Jill Kraye, "Stoicism in the Renaissance from Petrarch to Lipsius," in "Grotius and the Stoa", eds. Hans Blom and Laurens Winkel, special issue, *Grotiana* 22 (2001/2002): 21–45.

120 Evans, *Jonson, Lipsius and Renaissance Stoicism*, 19–20.

121 The key values Lipsius borrowed from the Stoics were "authority, self-control, constancy, obedience and discipline," as well as the political realism and activism of Tacitus. Oestreich, *Neostoicism*, 96. On the civic implications of social instability to Lipsius's cause, see McCrea, *Constant Minds*, 4. On Tacitus's *prudentia* and Lipsius, see Morford, "Tacitean *Prudentia* and the Doctrines of Justus Lipsius," esp. 136.

122 For more on this topic vis-à-vis France, see Jacob Soll, "Healing the Body Politic: French Royal Doctors, History, and the Birth of a Nation, 1560–1634," *Renaissance Quarterly* 55, no. 4 (Winter 2002): 1259–86. According to Soll, "The corporeal analogy of the state led Henri IV to order his doctors to aid in healing the body politic." Ibid., 1261.

123 McCrea, *Constant Minds*, 18–19; 339. McCrea further cites Morris Croll's observation that "[t]he central idea of the anti-Ciceronian movement . . . was that style should be adapted to the differences of men and times" and that new, modern solutions were needed. Ibid., 11, under n. 42. Contemporary medical metaphors are also addressed in M. Healy, "Curing the 'Frenzy': Humanism, Medical Idiom and "Crises" of Counsel in Sixteenth-Century England," *Textual Practice* 18 (2004): 333–50.

124 Croll, "Juste Lipse et le Mouvement Anticicéronien à la Fin du XVIe et au Début du XVIIe Siècle," in *Style, Rhetoric and Rhythm*, 21–24.

125 For the "Republic of Letters" in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe, see Katherine Kong, *Lettering the Self in Medieval and Early Modern France* (Cambridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2010), esp. 11 and under n. 29; John O. Ward, "Rhetorical Theory and the Rise and Decline of *Dictamen* in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance," *Rhetorica: A Journal in the History of Rhetoric* 19, no. 2 (Spring 2001): 175–22; and Judith Henderson, "Valla's *Elegantiae* and the Humanist Attack on the *Ars Dictaminis*," *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 19, no. 2 (Spring 2001): 249–68.

126 For Desiderius Erasmus's tract on letter writing, see *De conscribendis epistolis*, ed. Jean-Claude Margolin, in *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1.2 (Amsterdam: North Holland, 1971), 152–579. See also Knott's translation of Erasmus's *De copia* in "*Copia*: Foundations of the Abundant Style," 279–660. I first connected these texts with Rubens's eclecticism in Lusheck, "Rubens's Graphic Eclecticism," 51–65.

127 According to David Lowenthal, such imitative strategies represented "a birth of one's intellect, not something begged or borrowed from elsewhere." *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 81.

128 For more on the notion of *copia*, and how it pertained to early modern desires to join *verba* and *res*, see Cave, *Cornucopian Text*, 1–34.

129 "[Erasmus's *De copia*] shows the aspiring writer how to express himself fluently but with propriety and precision, taking into account the connotations of words as well as their basic meanings and aiming at that harmonious marriage of meaning and language which will enlighten and move the reader." Betty I. Knott, introduction to the *Collected Works of Erasmus*, xxxv. As Peter Mack observed, "[Erasmus's] *De copia* is concerned with supercharging, taking a sentence or an idea and making it more impressive." Mack, *Renaissance Rhetoric*, 80. For more on *De copia*, see ibid., 80–86.

130 Erasmus, *De conscribendis epistolis*, ed Margolin, in *Opera Omnia*, 209–10; as cited and discussed in Fumaroli, "Correspondance familière," 166. For an account of Erasmus's and Lipsius's influence on the rise of the epistolary genre especially in France, see ibid., 163–82.

131 Erasmus, *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum*, ed. Knott, in *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1.6, 60–61. For more on Erasmus's concern for varieties of language, see Chomarat, *Grammaire et Rhétorique Chez Érasme*, vol. 1, 84.

132 This point relates to Erasmus's classical concern for "words" and "things," and the realities they represent. For example, the Stoics (as important precursors to Erasmus's ideas) judged words to be *justes* when they evoked the thing they signified. Ibid., 86.

133 Cave, *Cornucopian Text*, esp. 18–45; Chomarat, *Grammaire et Rhétorique chez Érasme*, vol. 1, 736–61; and Mack, *Renaissance Rhetoric*, esp. 80–84 and table 5.1.

134 For Erasmus's worries about language, see Chomarat, *Grammaire et Rhétorique chez Érasme*, vol. 1, esp. 84, and 410–11.

135 Ibid., 411. The full text of Erasmus's *De Ratione Studii*, edited by Jean-Claude Margolin, may be found in *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1.2.

136 Erasmus, *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum*, ed. Knott, 60–61.

137 Lorenzo Valla, *Dialecticae disputationes, Proemium*, in *Opera Omnia*, ed. Eugenio Garin, vol. 1 (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1962), 645; and Chomarat, *Grammaire et Rhétorique chez Érasme*, vol. 1, 231–33.

138 Ibid., 232–33. For the rise of related critical traditions in literary circles in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see Jean Jehasse, *Renaissance de la Critique* (St. Etienne: Université de St. Etienne, 1976). On the related topic of "generative grammars," see Richard Ohmann, "Generative Grammar and the Concept of Literary Style," in *Contemporary Essays on Style*, eds. Glen A. Love and Michael Payne (Glenview, IL: Foresman & Co., 1969), 133–48. Noam Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures*, Series Janua linguarum, no. 4 (The Hague: Mouton, 1962) also provides very useful food for thought on this point. For more on the intersections of art and linguistics in the early modern period and beyond, see, for example, John Summerson, *The Classical Language of Art* (Boston: MIT Press, 1963); and Nelson Goodman, *The Languages of Art* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968). On the notion of grammars of drawing in a poetic and pedagogical context in the early modern Lowlands, see Jaap Bolten, "Ut Grammatica Pictura: A Method of Learning," *Ars auro prior* (1981): 71–74.

139 Fumaroli, "Correspondance familière," 166.
140 Catherine E. Dunn, "Lipsius and the Art of Letter Writing," *Studies in the Renaissance* 3 (1956):150. For Dunn's assertion that Lipsius attempted to define the personal letter as a literary genre, ibid., 145; and Young, introduction to *Principles of Letter-Writing*, eds. Young and Hester, xxxviii.
141 *Ep. Inst.*, XI; in *Principles of Letter-Writing*, eds. Young and Hester, 35.
142 *Ep. Inst.*, XI; Robert V. Young, "Lipsius and Imitation as Educational Technique," in *Iustus Lipsius*, eds. G. Tournoy et al., 277. For Lipsius's interest in "terse, subtle writers like Sallust, Seneca, and Tacitus" as models for the "adult or advanced pupil," see also Young's introduction in *Principles of Letter-Writing*, eds. Young and Hester, xlv.
143 Young, "Lipsius and Imitation as Educational Technique," 277; and Young, introduction to *Principles of Letter-Writing*, xliv.
144 Ibid., 39.
145 See also Demetrius of Phaleron, *On Style; The Greek Text of De Elocutione, after the Paris Manuscript*, ed. and with an introduction by W. Rhys Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), 67–207.
146 Lipsius wrote, "[J]ust as in conversations or stories, so in letters, wordiness is odious." As cited by Young, "Lipsius and Imitation as Educational Technique," 274. For Seneca's interest in brevity, or conciseness, as a testament to the importance of a subject, see *Letters to Lucilius*, 59.5; and Dominik, "The Style is the Man," 58.
147 Young, "Lipsius and Imitation as Educational Technique," 277.
148 Ibid.
149 Morford, "Life and Letters in Lipsius's Teaching," 116.
150 "Definio autem Epistolam: SCRIPTUM ANIMI NUNTIUM AD ABSENTES, AUT QUASI ABSENTES . . ." Lipsius, *Ep. Inst.*, II.8–9; translated and discussed in Young, introduction to *Principles of Letter-Writing*, xxiii–xxv.
151 Lipsius, *Ep. Inst.*, II; and Young, introduction to *Principles of Letter-Writing*, xxiii.
152 *Ep. Inst.*, VI.
153 *Ep. Inst.*, IX. According to Demetrius, "The letter, like the dialogue, should abound in glimpses of character. It may be said that everybody reveals his own soul in letters. In every other form of composition it is possible to discern the writer's character, but in none so clearly as in the epistolary." Demetrius, *On Style*, 175.
154 *Ep. Inst.*, IX. See Young, introduction to *Principles of Letter-Writing*, xli.
155 Ibid., xxxv–xxxvi.
156 Lipsius, *Ep. Inst.*, VII, IX–X; and Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics*, 73. Lipsius championed brevity especially in the writing of personal, informal letters for mature friends ("quae viris mihi dicta, non iuventuti"). Lipsius describes *brevitas* as "condensation" and *simplicitas* as less spontaneity than the effect of spontaneity; *Ep. Inst.*, in *Principles of Letter-writing*, eds. Young and Hester, 60. On Lipsius's championing of *brevitas*, see also Morford, "Life and Letters in Lipsius's Teaching," 119.
157 For Lipsius's definitions of flexibility, clarity, simplicity, elegance, and decorum, see *Ep. Inst.*, VI–X; in *Principles of Letter-Writing*, eds. Young and Hester, esp. 22–33.
158 Themes of aptness and decorum in Rubens's graphic practice are variously explored in Chapters 3–5, in this volume. In the painterly realm, for example, Suzanne Walker demonstrated the crucial role that notions of decorum and appropriateness played in "Rubens and the Decorum of Flesh," Historians of Netherlandish Art conference, Baltimore/Washington, November 10, 2006.
159 *Ep. Inst.*, X.
160 Young, introduction to *Principles of Letter-Writing*, xxxix.
161 Lipsius called his style "plain," not Attic. His "broken and choppy style" was a short, clipped style characterized by syntactical looseness. Lipsius, like Rubens, was criticized for poor form. For the informal and incomplete qualities Lipsius hoped to instill, see Ibid., xxxiv–xxxv.
162 Letters were particularly important to Lipsius because he discovered that the reader (unlike the listener) could go back and meditate on the writing. Fumaroli, "Correspondance familière," 176.
163 Ibid.

164 "Timanthem pictorem celebrant, quod in ejus operibus plus semper aliquid intellegeretur, quam pingeretur: velim in mea scriptione." *Ep. Inst.*, XIII; in Young, introduction to *Principles of Letter-Writing*, xxxiii. Also cited by Croll, "Juste Lipse," 17, under n. 11.

165 Giulio Cesare Scaliger expressed this in his poem *De stilo et character*, in *Silva Variorum Carminum*, no. 14, in *Poemata Omnia* (Leiden, 1615), 20; as cited by Croll, "Juste Lipse," 33, under n. 35.

166 According to Papy, "From this vast correspondence, it is apparent that Lipsius was a central figure in the Republic of Letters of his day, renowned for his philological skills, his historical knowledge and his search for a new type of *humanitas* (civilized and humane conduct) suited to the troubled times in which he lived . . . Most of the letters reflect Lipsius's friendships, thoughts, feelings, teachings and attempts at self-presentation. Yet his letter collections were also meant as an extension of his humanist scholarship and his Neostoic intellectual program." Papy, "Justus Lipsius."

167 Ibid.

168 Gerlo numbers the letters from or to Lipsius known today to 4,300 with 800 published in his own lifetime, most in the so-called *Centuriae epistolarum*. Gerlo et al., *Ivsti Lipsi Epistolae*, 13. For Lipsius's correspondence, see also A. Gerlo and H.D.L. Vervliet, *Inventaire de la Correspondence de Juste Lipse, 1564–1606* (Antwerp: Éditions Scientifiques Érasme, 1968); and Alejandro Ramirez, ed., *Epistolario de Justo Lipsio y los Españoles* (St. Louis, MO: Washington University Press, 1966).

169 On Lipsius's letters and his stylistic approach, see Fumaroli, "Correspondance familière," 166–74; and Fumaroli, "La diplomatie au service de la méthode," esp. 382–86.

170 Gerlo et al., *Ivsti Lipsi Epistolae*, 14.

171 Lipsius, *Epistolicae quaestiones* (1577), 5.26. See also Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics*, 76.

172 For the major volumes of Rubens's correspondence, see Rooses and Ruelens, *CDR*, 6 vols. (1887–1909); and Magurn, *Letters*.

173 For an example of Rubens's variation in tone, style, and address based on his letters' recipients, see Magurn, *Letters*, no. 237, pp. 401, 404 and Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics*, 70.

174 See, for example, Rubens to Pierre Dupuy, 25 December 1627; ill. in Magurn, *Letters*, 1956, no. 139, unnumbered plate (opposite p. 272).

175 For Rubens's use of underlining in his letters, see, for example, Rubens's letter to Peiresc, Madrid, December 2, 1628 (The Hague, Royal Library); ill. Lusheck, introduction to "Rubens's Graphic Eclecticism," fig. I41.

176 The drawing is discussed in Catherine Whistler and Jeremy Wood, *Rubens at Oxford* (Oxford: The Picture Gallery, Christ Church, 1988), 42; and illustrated in 2013 by Spaightwood Galleries (Upton, MA), accessed March 15, 2016: http://www.spaightwoodgalleries.com/Pages/Rubens_Drawings.html.

177 For example, see Rubens to Pierre Dupuy, 20 January 1628; Magurn, *Letters*, no. 143, p. 231.

178 Lipsius, by contrast, refused the vernacular as the language of "sailors and innkeepers." McCrea, *Constant Minds*, 13.

179 For Rubens's use of more recent models, and his desire to create new, tangible models, see Rubens to Junius, Antwerp, 1 August 1637, British Library MS 4935 (*Bibliotheca Harleiana, epistolarum clarissimorum virorum collectio*, III, 42); translated by Aldrich and Fehl, *Literature of Classical Art*, vol. 1, 326–30. The letter is also reprinted and translated in *Art in Theory: 1648–1815*, eds. Harrison et al., 29. The emphasis on haste in closing his letter was a literary convention also expressed in a letter to his friend Chieppo on his hurried return to Antwerp during his mother's illness ("On the point of mounting my horse [*salendo a cavallo*]"). Michel, *Rubens*, vol. 1, 122.

180 Fumaroli made this point vis-à-vis the epistolary circles of Lipsius and Montaigne. "Correspondance familière," 179.

181 Magurn, *Letters*, no. 84.

182 Selden's treatise was first published in 1617; Rubens referred to its reprinting in Holland in 1627. Rubens to Peiresc, London, 9 August 1629; translated by Magurn, *Letters*, no. 196, p. 493, under n. 1.

183 Ibid., nos. 8 and 10.

184 Rubens to Valavez, Brussels, 20 February 1626; ibid., no. 79.
185 Rooses and Ruelens, *CDR*, vol. 1, 62–63. Philip's letters to Lipsius show restraint, while those to his brother show more freedom. Like his brother, he matched his language and tone of address, writing more formal letters about erudite subjects to Lipsius and other humanist correspondents in Latin, while writing more relaxed ones to close friends in Flemish.
186 For Philip's use of *laconismus*, see Rooses and Ruelens, *CDR*, vol. 1, 62–63; and Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics*, 39. For the virtue of *laconismus* in another contemporary context, see Erycius Puteanus, *De Laconismo Syntagma. Adjuncti Thyrsi Philotesii, Stili et Sermonis Aculei* (Lovanii: G. Rivii, 1609).
187 Rubens to William Trumbull, Antwerp, 13 September 1621; Magurn, *Letters*, no. 46.
188 Rubens to Jacques Dupuy, 15 October 1626; Magurn, *Letters*, no. 91.
189 Ibid.
190 Peter William Shoemaker, *Powerful Connections: The Poetics of Patronage in the Age of Louis XIII* (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2007), 80.
191 Ibid., 77–83 ("The Battle Over Eloquence").
192 Rubens to Pierre Dupuy, Antwerp, 13 April 1628; Magurn, *Letters*, no. 162. Rubens evidently had not read Balzac's book at least by November 1627. He asked Dupuy for a copy so he could compare the two; Rubens to Pierre Dupuy, Antwerp, 25 November 1627; ibid., no. 134.
193 Rubens to Pierre Dupuy, Antwerp, 27 April 1628; ibid., no. 164.
194 Ibid. On Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac, whom Rubens called "Narcissus," see Rubens to Dupuy, Antwerp, 20 January, 1628; ibid., no. 143. See also Michel, *Rubens*, vol. 2, 105–06.
195 As cited and translated in ibid., 106.
196 Rubens to Pierre Dupuy, Antwerp, 25 November 1627; Magurn, *Letters*, no. 134.
197 According to Magurn, "Rubens' critical judgment on current literature was keen, and we find him appraising an author's style as often as the thesis." Ibid., 13.
198 *Ep. Inst.*, XI.
199 *Ep. Inst.*, XI–XIII. In Chapter XI, he wrote of the use of classical models for style: "Imitationem dico, SERMONIS NOSTRI AD SERMONEM VETEREM, APTAM CONFORMATIONEM, ET STILO EXPRESSAM."
200 *Ep. Inst.*, XI.
201 This metaphor may be found in Rubens's *De Imitatione Statuarum* published in De Piles, *Cours de peinture*, 82–85. See also Chapter 1, in this volume.
202 Charles Dempsey, *The Portrayal of Love: Botticelli's "Primavera" and Humanist Culture at the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), esp. chapter 1 ("Poetry as Painting: Classical *Materia* of Botticelli's Invention for the *Primavera*"), 20–49.
203 For Rubens, the practice of drawing also seems to have extended to his preliminary works in oil on panel which he also called sketches (*schizzi*). Rubens's oil sketches were described in the context of his drawings in his earliest published biography: ("on voit presqu'autant des petits Tableaux de sa main qu'il en a fait de grands, dont ils sont les premières pensées & les Esquisses: Et de ces Esquisses il y en a de fort legers & d'autres assez finis, selon qu'il possedoit plus ou moins ce qu'il avoit à faire, ou qu'il estoit en humeur de travailler. Il y en a esme qui luy servoient comme d'Original, & où il a voit étudie d'apres nature les objet qu'il devoit representer dans le grand ouvrage, ou il changeoit seulement selon qu'il le trouvait à propos.") Roger de Piles, *La Vie de Rubens*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1681), 38–39; also cited in Martin, *The Antwerp Altarpieces*, 62. See also Marjorie Wieseman, "Pursuing and Possessing Passion: Two Hundred Years of Collecting Rubens's Oil Sketches," in *Drawn by the Brush*, eds. Sutton and Wieseman, under n. 13.
204 See Chapter 1, in this volume.
205 Papy, "Justus Lipsius."
206 Rubens to J.J. Chifflet (?), 23 April 1624; Magurn, *Letters*, no. 57.
207 Rubens to Monsieur Felix, 18 January 1618; ibid., no. 25.
208 Rubens to François Swert, February–March 1618; ibid., no. 26.

209 Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, 66, under no. 7. For more on the role that words have played in European drawings, see Roseline Bacou, *Les Mots dans les Dessins*, exh. cat. (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1986).

210 The inscription reads: "iuvenis erat primo aetatis flore pubescens/Is tum flere coepit et os suum converberare." As translated by Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, 67, under no. 7; and discussed by Müller Hofstede in *Katalog I: Rubens in Italien*.

211 See the inscription on *King David Playing his Harp*, c. 1612–15 (Paris, Louvre; inv. 20.221) in Lugt, *Inventaire Général*, vol. 2, no. 1007, pl. 12. The full inscription reads: "Si ha da avertire che l'opra riuscerebbe molto diversa/da questi scizzi, li quali sono fatti leggierissimamente da/primo colpo per dimostrar solo il pensiero, mà poi si farebbono/li dissegni come anco la pittura con ogni studio e diligenza." See also Held, *Oil Sketches*, vol. 1, 7.

212 Whistler and Wood, *Rubens at Oxford*, 42.

213 Jan Papy, "An Antiquarian Scholar between Text and Image? Justus Lipsius, Humanist Education, and the Visualization of Ancient Rome," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 35, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 97–131; esp. 97–99. In the case of Lipsius's *Admiranda sive de Magnitudine Romana Libri IV* (1598) – which includes no illustrations – Papy concluded that Lipsius left them out given what he saw as their "philosophical shortcomings." Ibid., 97. On Lipsius's use of imagery in the Plantin Press, see also Dirk Imhof, "The Illustration of Works by Justus Lipsius published by the Plantin Press," in *Iustus Lipsius*, eds. Tournoy et al., 67–81; and Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Vangendt, 1969–72), esp. vol. 2, 194–243.

214 Rubens to Peiresc, 16 March 1636, cited in Rooses and Ruelens, *CDR*, vol. 4, 155; and Magurn, *Letters*, no. 238; discussed by Van der Meulen, *Copies after the Antique*, vol. 1, 125, under n. 139.

215 MS Fr. 9532, fol. 94r; discussed in Van der Meulen, *Copies after the Antique*, vol. 2, no. 200, fig. 403.

216 Rubens to Peiresc, Antwerp, August 1630; cited in Magurn, *Letters*, no. 216.

217 Four illustrative tripod drawings are included on the left margin of Rubens's signed letter to Peiresc, Antwerp 1630, 318 × 205 mm, Gift of Julia P. Wightman, 1971 (New York, Morgan Library; inv. MA 2908).

218 Michel, *Rubens*, 140–41; citing Pierre Gassendi, *Viri illustris Nicolai Claudii Fabricii de Peiresc vita* (Paris 1641), 244–45. Peiresc wrote to Rubens in November and December 1629. This encounter is also addressed in Stechow, *Rubens and the Classical Tradition*, 9–10; and Marjon van der Meulen, "A Note on Rubens's Letter on Tripods," *Burlington Magazine* 99 (1977): 647–51. See also Anthony Ossa-Richardson, "Nicolas Peiresc and the Delphic Tripod in the Republic of Letters," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 74 (2011): 263–79.

219 Michel, *Rubens*, vol. 2, 140–41.

220 For more on this topic, see Walter Melion, "Memory and the Kinship of Writing and Picturing in the Early Seventeenth-Century Netherlands," *Word and Image* 8, no. 1 (January–March 1992): 48–70.

221 See, for example, Michelangelo's contour drawings of food items included with a related list of these items, c. 1518, in the Casa Buonarroti (Florence: Archivio Buonarroti codex X, folio 578v); and the self-portrait drawing of Michelangelo painting the Sistine Ceiling added to a poem for a friend alluding to the physical pain of painting it. The drawing is discussed by Hugo Chapman, *Michelangelo Drawings: Closer to the Master* (London: The British Museum; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 113. Leonardo drew a contour-drawing of a Pazzi conspirator, Bernadino di Bandini Baroncelli, executed in Florence in 1479, with an identifying inscription (Collection Léon Bonnat).

222 For Van Hoogstraten's comparison of *handeling* in art to "individual handwriting," see Van de Wetering, *Corpus*, 113, 226.

223 Gerard Mercator, *Literarum Latinarum . . . Ratio* (Antwerp: Richard, 1540), fol. 14; ill., in Alfred Fairbank and Berthold Wolpe, *Renaissance Handwriting* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1960), fig. 71.

224 Camillo Baldi, *Trattato come da una lettera missiva si conoscano la natura e qualità dello scrittore* (Milan: G.B. Bidelli, 1625). Sohm extended this idea to Bellori's biographical treatment of Caravaggio. Philip Sohm, "Caravaggio's Deaths," *Art Bulletin* 74, no. 3 (September 2002): 454 and under n. 27.

225 Kathy Eden, *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Intimacy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

226 Ill., respectively, in Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, no. 13, pl. 12; and no. 71, pl. 72.

227 Logan, "Rubens as Draftsman," xii.

228 "Pour un de ses propres élèves, un Anglais (Robert Fisher) assez obtus et de mauvais mémoire, Érasme calligraphait (pingere) une paraphrase nullement destinée à la publication et fort copieuse (ingens volume)." Chomarat, *Grammaire et Rhétorique chez Érasme*, 244.

229 *De Ratione Studii*, ed. Margolin, 115–19; Jean-Claude Margolin et al., *Images et Lieux de Mémoire d'un Étudiant du XVIe siècle: étude, transcription et commentaire d'un cahier latin d'un étudiant néerlandais* (Paris: G. Tredaniel, 1991), xiii.

230 For Rubens's interest in the Aristotelian idea of "impressions on the mind," see also Muller, "Theory and Practice of Imitation," 246.

231 Philip Rubens, *Electorum Libri Duo* (1608), I:1; as cited in Van der Meulen *Copies after the Antique*, translated by Nancy T. Drummond, 97, and under n. 1.

232 Rubens to Junius, 1 August 1637; Rooses and Ruelens, *CDR*, vol. 4, 179; as translated by Aldrich and Fehl, *Literature of Classical Art*, vol. 1, 326–30. See also Magurn, *Letters*, no. 241.

233 In this sense, these drawings succinctly registered the artist's idea and authorial power in a similar way as signature, royal "hand" stamps that were sometimes used to sign royal cartularies in the Middle Ages. I am grateful to Dr. Shannon Wearing for bringing my attention to the authorial and graphic implications of these medieval royal hand stamps.

234 Quintilian and Cicero used the analogies of painting to illustrate the potential of rhetorical eloquence, as did Paolo Giovio in Renaissance Italy. In his dialogue, *De viris illustribus*, Giovio used the analogy of the visual arts to argue for the principles of robust style and good imitative practices. On Giovio, see Zimmerman, "Evolution of Renaissance Art Criticism," 406–24; esp. 410–16; and Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari*, 373–74.

235 *Ep. Inst.*, XI; in *Principles of Letter-Writing*, eds. Young and Hester, 37.

236 For Lipsius's idea of messages of the mind in the epistolary context, see *Ep. Inst.*, II.8–9; as translated in Young, introduction to *Principles of Letter-Writing*, xxiii–xxv.

237 *Letters to Lucilius*, letter 114; as discussed in Dominik, "The Style is the Man," 58. As Dominik also observed, there was a great deal of controversy over questions of style (*elocutio*), in Quintilian's and Seneca's day. Quintilian warned of the corruption of using Seneca's model in *Inst. Orat.*, X.i.126. Ibid., esp. 50–55.

238 Lipsius, *Ep. Inst.*, XIII; as translated in *Principles of Letter-Writing*, eds. Young and Hester, 49.

239 Lipsius's remarks on the self-revelatory aspects of brevity are found in *Ep. Inst.*, IX. For Demetrius's epistolary "plain" style, see *On Style*, 175, 177–79, 181. See also Gerlo et al., *Ivsti Lipsi epistolae*, 223–25 for the text Lipsius appended to his edition.

240 Fumaroli, "Correspondance familière," 176–77.

241 On Goulu's use of *esquisse prégnante*, see ibid., 178–79.

242 Ibid.

243 "Tu dois prendre (mes lettres) comme les dessins de Michel Ange qui n'estans que croquez encore passent et excellent tous les adoucissemens et finissemens des tableaux et peintures des Flamands." Jean Goulu, *Lettres de Phyllarque à Ariste: où il est traité de l'éloquence française*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1628), 10; cited in Fumaroli, "Correspondance familière," 178.

244 Ibid.

245 Lipsius argued for this distinction between personal letters and spoken oratory. *Ep. Inst.*, X.

246 Cited in Croll, "'Attic Prose' in the Seventeenth Century," 179.

247 See Chapter 1, in this volume.

248 Thomas Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986). 90–93. For humanism as "primarily an archaeological enterprise," see Findlen, "Museum: Classical Etymology," 26. On this rich topic, see also Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

249 I remain grateful to the late Julius Held who helpfully made this point to me in a personal letter in summer 1999.

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Part II

Case Studies in Graphic Eloquence

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3 The Getty *Medea* and Rubens's Making of a Modern Senecan *Grande Âme*

> As for the subject of the picture, it is very clear . . . the remainder will perhaps make itself better understood to your experienced eye, than through my explanation.
>
> Rubens to Justus Sustermans on his *Horrors of War* painting, 1638[1]

"As for the Subject of the Picture, It Is Very Clear"

Near the close of the first decade of the seventeenth century, Rubens executed a quick, yet expressively clear, sheet of full and partial pen-and-ink figural studies of a muscular and emotionally overwrought woman carrying lifeless children on an otherwise bare sheet of white laid paper (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum; Plate 15).[2] Likely executed in the early years of his formative Roman sojourn, c. 1600–04,[3] this sheet of sketches has long been identified as the "verso" of a two-sided drawing that also includes Rubens's well-known *Three Groups of Apostles in a Last Supper* which was likely drawn around the same time and executed in the same iron gall ink (Figure 3.1).[4] Despite its rough and apparently slapdash execution, the Getty drawing in question, now known as *Three Sketches for Medea and Her Children*, is striking for the immediate and powerful way it conveys Rubens's early concern for expressing human sorrow and maternal grief in what his humanist friend Justus Sustermans might have described as a "very clear" way. Characterized by a bold, abbreviated, drawing style and subjects whose pained facial expressions demand the viewer's attention, the drawing appears, as Gillian Jondorf has described French humanist tragedy of Rubens's day, "almost colloquial in its simplicity and extreme directness."[5] Yet, like the deceptively simple French early modern tragedies of Corneille, Racine, and La Pérouse, in which a laconic, choppy style was sometimes used to further the work's conceptual, moral force,[6] the apparent facility and emotional immediacy of the Getty drawing paradoxically belie the sheet's classical erudition and dramatic, moralizing thrust.

Based on a faint inscription written in Rubens's Latin hand at the sheet's top right edge, scholars have long identified Rubens's primary subject as the murderous Medea: the tragic protagonist who, in Euripides's early fifth-century BCE play, and later in Seneca's Roman version, killed her children out of vengeance for her husband, Jason's, desertion.[7] Contrary to earlier representations of Medea scattered infrequently in northern sixteenth-century manuscripts, emblems, and tapestries, which show her usually in aristocratic, Burgundian garb, as well as the more overtly violent representation of the tragic heroine found in Ludovico Carracci's 1584 fresco cycle in



Figure 3.1 Peter Paul Rubens, *Three Groups of Apostles in a Last Supper*, c. 1600–04, pen and brown ink; 296 × 439 mm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (inv. 84.GA.959 recto). Credit: Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

Bologna (Fava Palace),[8] this drawing is striking for its unflinching focus on Medea and her emotional fragility. One of the earliest depictions of a grief-stricken Medea extant in the visual arts,[9] the Getty Medea represents precisely the type of original drawing that Rubens dispatched early in his career to appeal to studied humanist friends who possessed a deep knowledge of its classically inspired sources and an "experienced eye" for its graphic figuration that would arguably allow them to recognize and comprehend its deeper, humanist and even Neostoic significations. It is likely precisely the type of "naked and undistinguished lineament[s]" that antiquarian Franciscus Junius claimed most appealed to those "who have a deeper insight into these arts" and who could see in them the thoughts of "the Studious Artificer."[10]

This case study explores the expressive complexity of what appears on the surface to be a simple sheet of figural studies. By examining the drawing's textual, visual, and narrative underpinnings, and the ways Rubens apparently employed an improvisational approach to *affect* ease or spontaneity in an otherwise highly erudite work, much as in the Lipsian sphere of the informal epistle, this study demonstrates why this work should be viewed as a deeply classicizing construction of great originality and graphic deliberation related to Rubens's early interest in Senecan drama and Lipsius's Stoic revival. At the conceptual heart of the Getty sheet is an updated classical idea – one steeped in the ideas and models of the distant and Renaissance past, but also one modernized by an ambitious artist who wished to be compared



Plate 1
Peter Paul Rubens, *Job's Wife*; *Judith and Holofernes* (*Two Copies after Tobias Stimmer*), before 1600, pen and brown ink on paper, 188 × 127 mm. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. 1984.46. Gift of a Trustee. Photograph: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.



Plate 2
Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of Isabella Brandt*, c. 1622, black, red, and white chalk, with some pen and ink and wash, 381 × 292 mm. British Museum, London (inv. 1893,0731.21). © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Plate 3 Peter Paul Rubens, *Study of Blackthorn with Brambles and Other Plants*, c. 1615–20, black, red, and white chalks and yellow watercolor on light brown paper, 545 × 495 mm. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection (D.1978.PG.63). Credit: The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, London.



Plate 4 Peter Paul Rubens, *A Man Threshing beside a Wagon*, 1615–17, red, black, blue, green, and yellow chalk, with touches of pen and brown ink, 254 × 414 mm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (inv. 84.GG.693). Credit: Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.



Plate 5 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Consequences of War* (*Horrors of War*), 1637–38, oil on canvas. (inv. 86). Credit: Palazzo Pitti, Florence, Italy/Bridgeman Images.



Plate 6
Peter Paul Rubens, *A Lioness* (after the bronze Paduan Lion), c. 1613–15, black and yellow chalk with wash and white heightening, 396 × 235 mm. British Museum, London (inv. 1994,0514.46). © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Plate 7 Peter Paul Rubens, *Raising of the Cross*, c. 1610, oil on panel. Credit: Onze Lieve Vrouwkerk, Antwerp Cathedral, Belgium/Bridgeman Images.



Plate 8 (above)
Peter Paul Rubens, *Self-Portrait with the Mantuan Circle of Friends*, c. 1602, oil on canvas, 77.5 × 101 cm. Credit: Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud, Köln. Photo © Rheinisches Bildarchiv Köln, around 1980/1981, rba_c002373.



Plate 9
Peter Paul Rubens, *The Four Philosophers*, c. 1611–12, 164 × 139 cm (inv. 85). Credit: Palazzo Pitti, Florence, Italy/Bridgeman Images.



Plate 10
Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of Justus Lipsius*, c. 1615, black chalk, black pen and ink, and wash, 230 × 185 mm. Design for an engraving by Cornelius Galle for Lipsius's edition of Seneca's works, *Opera Omnia*, 1615 (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Press). British Museum, London (inv. 1891,0511.31). © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Plate 11 Peter Paul Rubens, *Israelites Wrestling with Giant Snakes, after Michelangelo's Moses and the Brazen Serpent*, c. 1607, pen and ink, and wash, reworked, cut, rearranged, and pasted; with brush and brown wash, white and grey body color and black chalk additions, 304 × 213 mm. British Museum, London (inv. 1895,0915.1055). © The Trustees of the British Museum.





Plate 12 (above left)
Peter Paul Rubens, *Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, 1617–18. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Credit: De Agostini Picture Library; G. Nimatalla/ Bridgeman Images.



Plate 13 (above right)
Peter Paul Rubens, *Drawings after Raphael and Holbein*, c. 1600–03, pen and brown ink on paper, 202 × 160 mm. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, SMPK (inv. KdZ 3240r). Photo: Jörg P. Anders/Art Resource, NY.

Plate 14 (left)
Peter Paul Rubens, *Venus Lamenting Adonis*, c. 1608–12, pen and brown ink, 306 × 198 mm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (inv. 1968.20.1). Credit: Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund. Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Plate 15 Peter Paul Rubens, *Three Sketches for Medea and Her Children*, c. 1600–04, pen and brown ink, 296 × 439 mm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (inv. 84.GA.959 verso). Credit: Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.



Plate 16
Raphael, *Studies of the Virgin and Child*, c. 1505–08, pen and brown ink with traces of red chalk underdrawing, 253 × 183 mm. British Museum, London (inv. Ff,1.36). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Plate 17
Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, *Massacre of the Innocents*, 1591, oil on panel. Frans Hals Museum, De Hallen Haarlem. Long-term loan from the Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, The Hague. Photo: Margareta Svensson.





Plate 18 Peter Paul Rubens, *Massacre of the Innocents*, c. 1637, oil on panel, 198.5 × 302.2 cm (inv. 572). Credit: Alte Pinakothek, Munich. Photo © Tarker/Bridgeman Images.



Plate 19 *Roman Sarcophagus with Scenes from the Myth of Medea*, second century CE, marble. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano (Palazzo Massimo alle Terme). Credit: © 2016. Photo Scala, Florence – courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali.



Plate 20 Leonardo da Vinci, *Studies for the Battle of Anghiari*, 1503–04, pen and ink (inv. 10412118). Credit: Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice, Italy/Bridgeman Images.



Plate 21 Peter Paul Rubens, *Peasants Dancing* (Study for a *Kermesse*), c. 1629–32, pen and ink over black chalk with traces of red chalk, 502 × 582 mm. British Museum, London (inv. 1885,0509.50). © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Plate 22
Peter Paul Rubens, *Hercules Victorious Over Discord*, c. 1615–21, red and black chalk, 425 × 320 mm. British Museum, London (inv. PD 1900,0824.138). © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Plate 23 Peter Paul Rubens, *Descent from the Cross* (*Deposition*), c. 1612–14, oil on panel, 421 × 311 cm. Credit: Onze Lieve Vrouwkerk, Antwerp Cathedral, Belgium/Bridgeman Images.



Plate 24
School of Raphael, *Massacre of the Innocents*, c. 1524–31, tapestry. Gallery of the Tapestries, Vatican Museums, Vatican State. Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY.



Plate 25
Peter Paul Rubens, *Achilles Dipped into the River Styx*, c. 1620–32, oil sketch on panel, 44 × 38 cm. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (inv. 1760). Photo: Kavaler/Art Resource, NY.



Plate 26
Leonardo da Vinci, *Cartoon of the Virgin and Child with Saint Anne and John the Baptist*, c. 1500, black chalk and touches of white chalk on brownish paper, mounted on canvas, 141.5 × 104.6 cm. National Gallery, London (inv. NG6337). © National Gallery, London/Art Resource, NY.



Plate 27
The Laocoön and His Two Sons, Hellenistic (?) Greek, marble, 208 × 163 × 112 cm. Credit: Vatican Museums and Galleries, Vatican City. Alinari/Bridgeman Images.

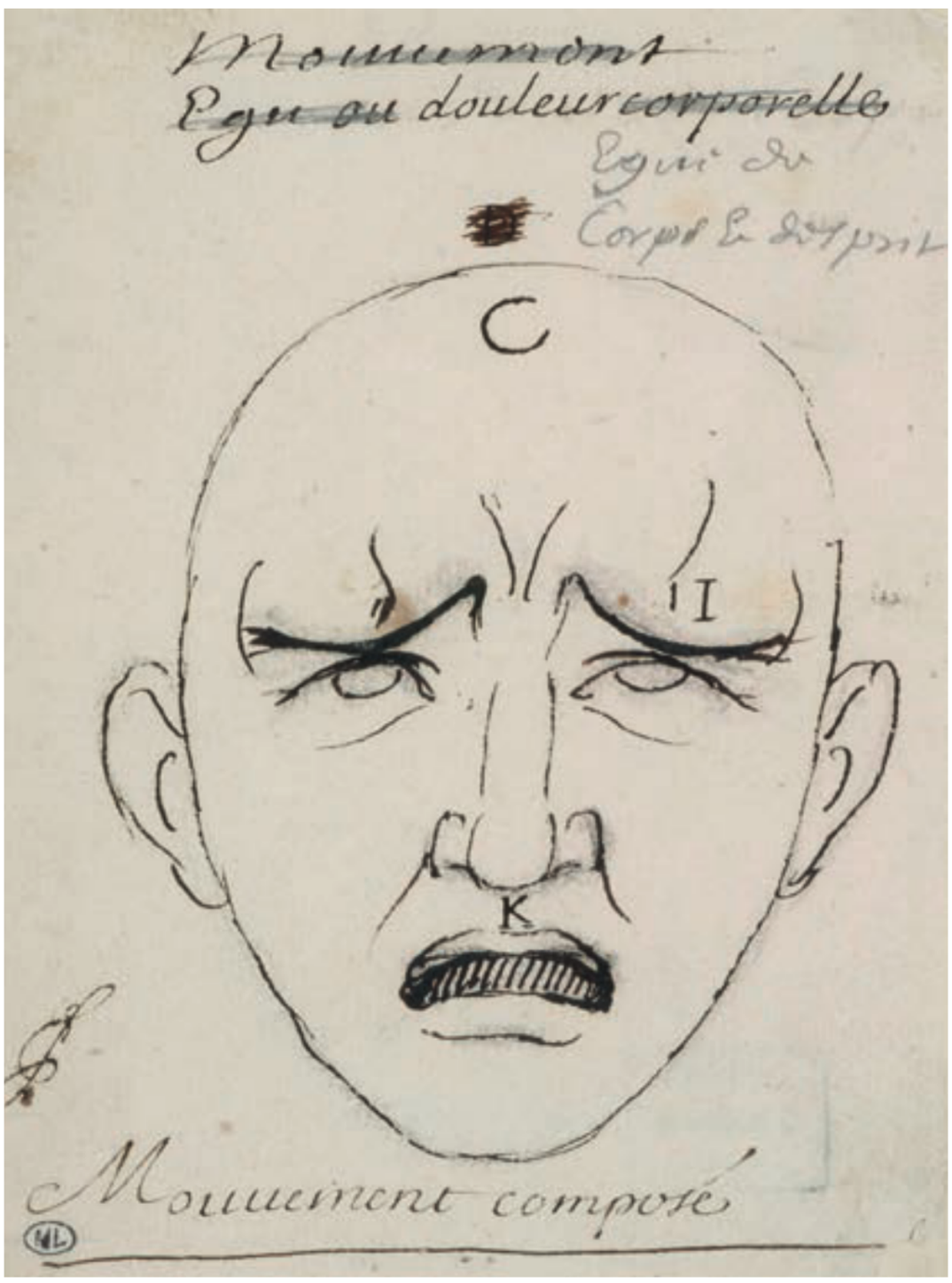


Plate 28
Charles Le Brun, *The Sharp Pain of Body and Mind: Composite Movement* (*La Douleur aiguë du corps et de l'esprit: mouvement composé*). From: Album Charles Le Brun, 1, fol. 26 recto. Black chalk, and pen and black ink, on paper. Credit: Paris, Musée du Louvre (inv. 28348-recto-folio 27). Photo © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.



Plate 29 Peter Paul Rubens (or Anthony van Dyck?), *Five Studies for the Suicide of Dido* (or *Thisbe*?), c. 1602–04, pen and brown ink, 193 × 208 mm. Credit: Paris, Musée du Louvre (inv. 19916-recto). Photo: Thierry Le Mage © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.



Plate 30 Peter Paul Rubens, *A Kneeling Man*, c. 1609, black chalk with white heightening, 520 × 390 mm. Credit: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (inv. V. 52 PK). Loan Museum Plate Boijmans Van Beuningen Foundation (Collection Koenigs). Photographer: Studio Tromp, Rotterdam.



Plate 31 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1609–10, oil on canvas, 346 × 488 cm (inv. PD1638). Credit: Prado, Madrid, Spain/Bridgeman Images.



Plate 32
Peter Paul Rubens, *Écorchés* (Anatomical Studies), c. 1600, pen and ink. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.



Plate 33
Anthony van Dyck, *Kneeling Man Seen from Behind*, c. 1617, black and colored chalk. Credit: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam. Photographer: Studio Buitenhof, The Hague.



Plate 34 *Sacrifice of the Ox*, Antique garden façade relief, marble. Credit: Villa Medici, Rome.

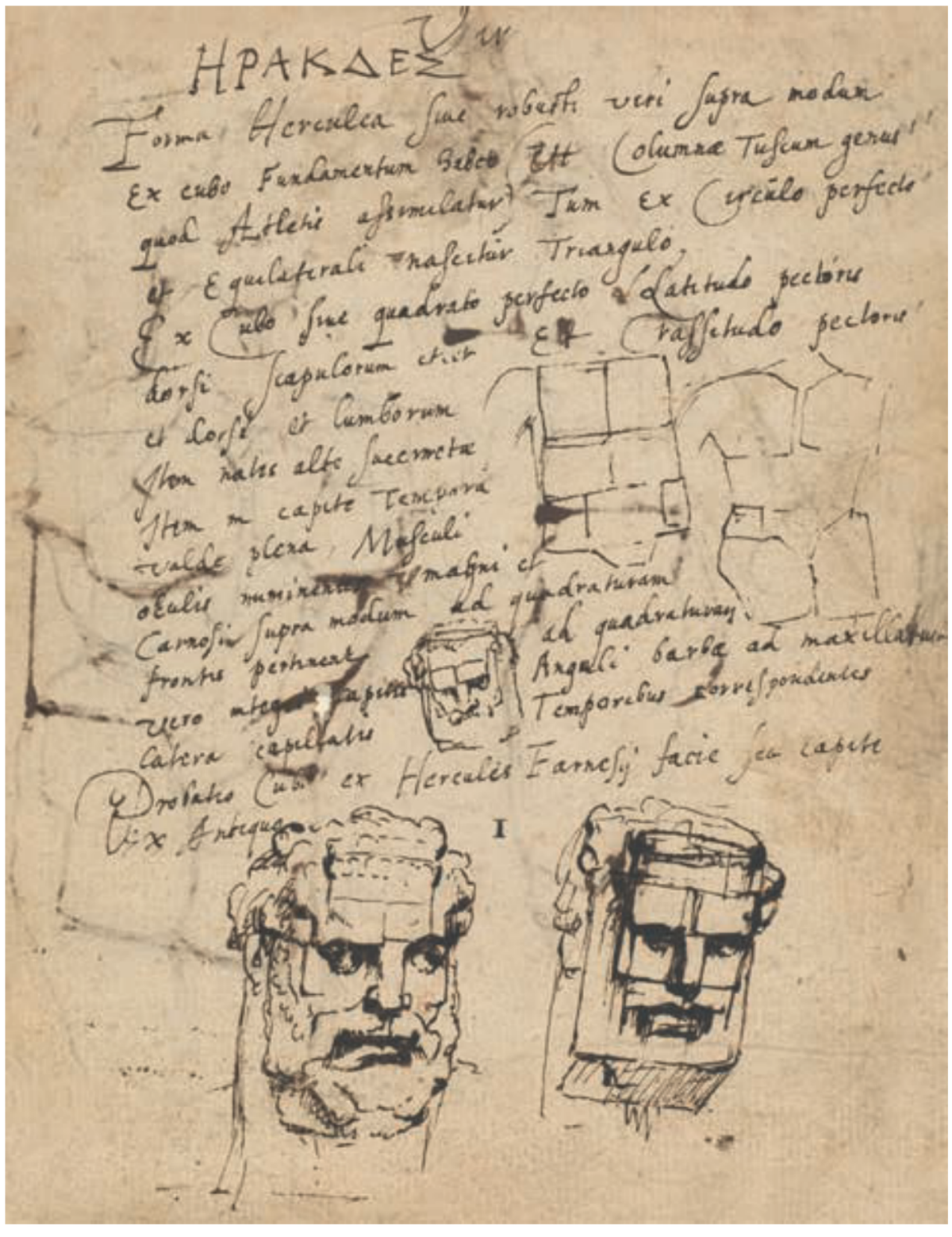


Plate 35
Peter Paul Rubens, *Studies of the Farnese Hercules* (recto), c. 1601–02, pen and ink on paper, 196 × 153 mm (D.1978.PG.427r). Credit: The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, London.

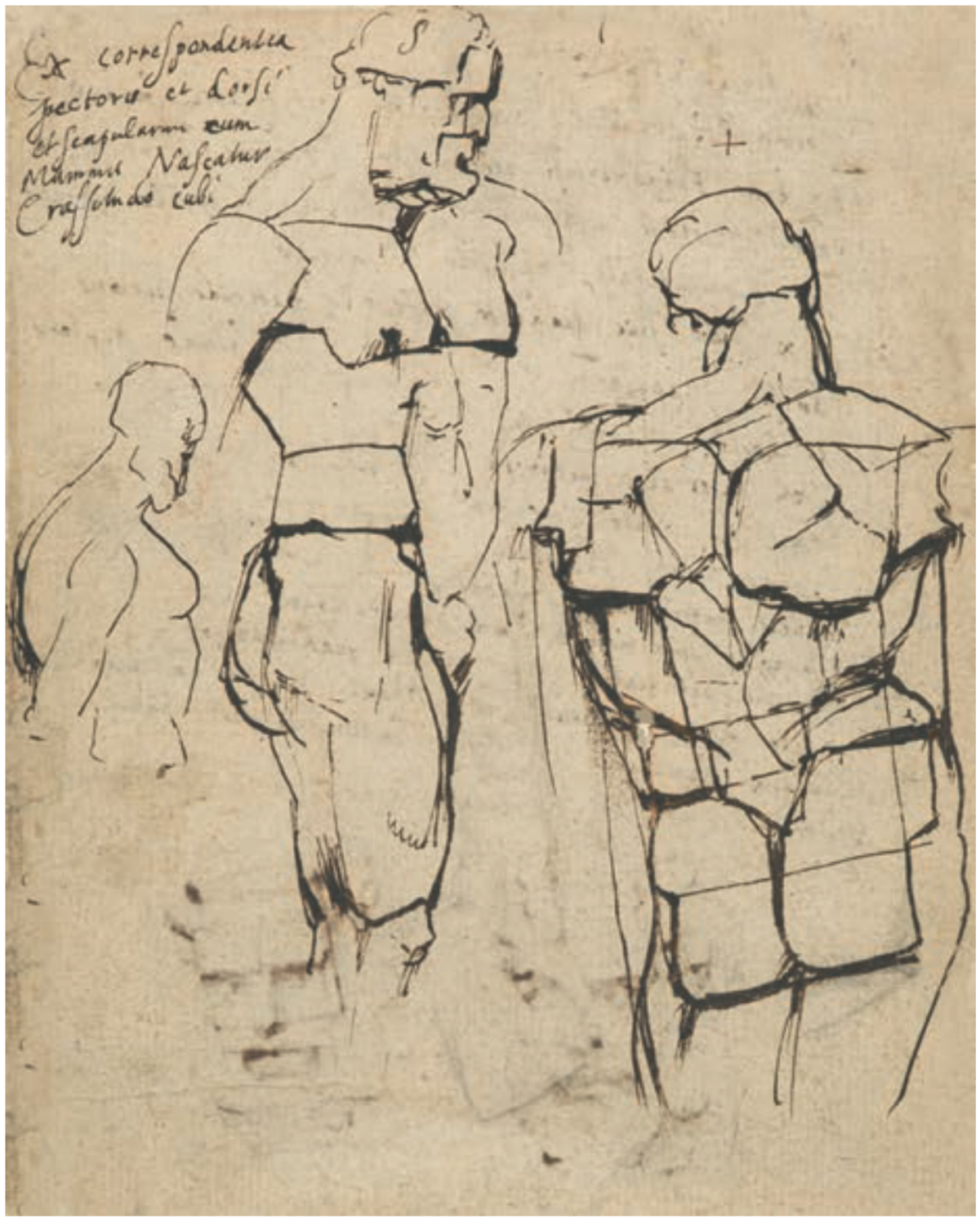


Plate 36
Peter Paul Rubens, *Study of the Farnese Hercules* (verso), c. 1601–02, pen and ink on paper, 196 × 153 mm (D.1978.PG.427v). Credit: The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, London.



Plate 37 Peter Paul Rubens, *Study after the Belvedere Torso* (verso), red chalk. Purchase, 2001 Benefit Fund. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (2002.12 a, b). © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.



Plate 38 Michelangelo, *Studies for the Sistine Ceiling and the Tomb of Pope Julius II* (*The Genius Accompanying the Libyan Sibyl*), pen and ink, and red chalk, 286 × 194 mm. The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (inv. WA1846.43). Presented by a Body of Subscribers, 1846.



Plate 39
Leonardo da Vinci, *Study of a Nude Man from Behind*, red chalk, c. 1504–05, 270 × 160 mm. Windsor Castle, The Royal Collection (RCIN 912596). Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2016.



Plate 40
Peter Paul Rubens, *Man in Korean Costume*, c. 1617, black chalk with touches of red chalk, 384 × 235 mm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (inv. 83.GB.384). Credit: Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

with no other painter. Specifically, this case study seeks to demonstrate that Rubens's interest in Medea and the emotive theme of human grief in this quick *schizzo* was paradoxically bound up in the artist's highly cerebral, humanist concerns with visualizing a modern Senecan *grande âme*: one of the classically inspired female "great souls" – including Medea, Phaedra, Thisbe, Dido, and Niobe – doomed to eternal suffering and melancholic isolation due to their unthinkable crimes and personal weaknesses grounded in the deleterious passions.

In the Getty sheet, Rubens constructed a new graphic identity for Medea emphasizing her vulnerability, self-pity, and an intensification of the human passions that Seneca linked directly to disease, "hardened vices," and "objectionable impulses of the spirit, sudden and vehement . . ." particularly through a flexible and judicious approach to style and emulation.[11] Ultimately, the drawing's importance resides in the ways it directly reflects Rubens's early engagement with a revived interest in Senecan tragedy in the early seventeenth century, especially in the orbit of the great philologist Lipsius. Arguably designed to appeal to intellectuals in Rubens's circle who would recognize the sheet's humanist complexity (*difficultà*), the drawing stands as a highly rhetorical warning against the dangers of loss of self-control and a manifestation of Rubens's delight in impassioned drawing. Representing a cerebral, aesthetically coherent *beau dessin* for classically inspired tragic pathos, the sheet's graphic "remainders" would have richly appealed to the "experienced eye" of humanist viewers like his friend Sustermans, even as on its face it provided reusable motifs for Rubens's workshop, expressing clear ideas about human tragedy and weakness. This case study focuses on what is *not* as clearly stated in the drawing by recovering some of the artist's underlying Senecan and emulative preoccupations, excavating it for some of what lies beneath its otherwise all-too-obvious surface.

A Quick Sketch Reconsidered: Graphic Deliberation, *Simplicitas*, and the Contemporary Taste for *All'Improvviso* Drawing

The Getty drawing might first appear to be an unstudied, if skillful, sketch by an early modern draftsman perhaps practicing his hand. The sheet depicts three seemingly slapdash figural sketches of varying scales and levels of finish, spread horizontally toward the left side of the sheet. The sketches include two full-length studies of an unusually muscular, classically garbed, middle-aged woman grasping nude, lifeless children. Sharing similar poses and countenances embodying human anguish, both are drawn in three-quarter view with one leg bent and head tilted and turned towards the viewer. A third partial figural study at center depicts an idealized, hanging nude infant with eyes firmly closed, who appears carelessly held by a strangely disembodied arm. While Rubens likely completed all three sketches quickly in one sitting, the original order of their execution remains uncertain. The drawing includes one point of overlapping contours in the area of the head of the central fragmentary figure indicating that the central figure was executed after the full-length study at right; otherwise, the overall chronology of the figural studies remains largely open to speculation.[12] With the exception of a few pronounced ink spots located on the sheet at upper right (the result of Rubens ridding his quill of excess liquid), the drawing lacks graphic elaborations beyond its figural components. Further contextualizing markers that might detract from the expressive power of his figural subjects, such as background or landscape elements, are notably absent.[13] With its undivided attention

on the classicizing human figure, the Getty drawing is typical of the quick, multi-sketch, pen-and-ink figural drawings inspired by antiquity that Rubens executed during his Roman period from 1600 to 1608 and just after he returned to Antwerp in 1609.

At first glance, the drawing's hasty, rough style, and the curious ordering and placement of the sketches might indicate Rubens executed it with little thought or care. Today, such rapid drawings are often dismissed as "mere sketches" and considered less important creations than more developed, or so-called finished, compositions. It is almost certainly for this reason that the drawing has long been designated the verso (read: less important drawing) of the two-sided sheet that also includes the more elaborated studies of the apostles at the Last Supper. The odd scale and disposition of the Medea sketches on the sheet, as well as the considerable blank space at right, invite a similar response. Given the monumentality of the 296 × 439 mm paper support, the figures appear uncomfortably slight and even distant on the page. By contrast, other full-length figural drawings from Rubens's early period, including the *Kneeling Man*, 1609 (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen; Plate 30) and his early chalk *Study for the Figure of Christ on the Cross*, c. 1614–15 (London, British Museum; Figure 4.3), appear to burst powerfully from the page as the figures extend to the sheets' edges. Since the drawing appears on the obverse of a more elaborated drawing of expression studies, and neither drawing bears any direct, preparatory relationship to other works in Rubens's oeuvre,[14] it would be understandable if the Medea drawing were mistaken for a quick doodle or example of studio praxis in which the draftsman simply flipped over a sheet he was already working on to execute hasty variations related to his obvious interest in studying memorable facial expressions. Before dismissing the drawing so quickly though, it is worth pausing on two, perhaps counter-intuitive, points: 1) the roughness of the drawing would likely have compelled contemporary humanists to look more slowly and deeply at it given the contemporary appeal of erudite, *sprezzatura* works that were only made to *appear* easy; and 2) the drawing's sketchy figures betray a far more deliberative drawing than their elliptical style might initially suggest. In other words, precisely those formal factors that might compel modern viewers to look past the drawing – much like the erudite, yet informal, epistles and laconic treatises of Lipsius and Rubens described in the last chapter – are also likely those that first piqued and sustained the interest of humanist viewers and collectors in Rubens's rarified milieu.

The drawing's rough style indicates that Rubens likely created the "independent" Getty sheet for his own edification or to delight friends in his humanist circle. Speedy execution had been applauded since antiquity and took the form of rough pen-and-ink drawings called *macchie*, *crabbelinge*, or *griffonements* in early modern Europe.[15] Praised in Rubens's day for their seemingly unfinished quality, quick scribbles in ink like the Getty sheet were valued by contemporary art lovers as measures of a superior draftsman's fluid mental and manual faculties. Pen and ink provided the perfect medium for such extemporaneous graphic demonstrations, as the inability to erase or alter was seen as one of the finest gauges of a draftsman's innate wit (*ingenium*). Contemporary humanists in Rubens's Antwerp circle, including his close workshop collaborator, Erasmus II Quellinus (Flemish, 1607–78), even actively collected Rubens's *crabbelinge* during the painter's lifetime. Based on contemporary notarial records, Quellinus may have even owned upwards of 24 of them himself.[16] In Rubens's

day, the value of the Getty sheet's graphic spontaneity – or rather, its *appearance* of spontaneity – resided in the appreciation long accorded to *schizzi* in the Italian Renaissance workshop tradition. First valued by early humanist draftsmen including Leonardo and Raphael, such *all'improvviso* sketches were considered models of *disegno* that provided the humanist artist with an opportunity to express nascent or already formulated ideas in a manner that signaled the breadth and rapidity of the artist's lively intellect. Franciscus Junius's later praise of the deeper meanings found in the Studious Artificer's "naked and undistinguished lineament[s]" highlights the importance of this Italian humanist workshop tradition in early seventeenth-century Antwerp, particularly in Rubens's circle.[17] Junius derived this idea from Pliny, who wrote "that works left unfinished are valued more than finished works because in these we see traces of the design and the thoughts of the artists [*liniamenta reliqua ipsaeque cogitationes artificum*]."[18]

Rubens's biographer G.-P. Bellori similarly lauded Rubens's rapid execution, praising his "great speed and furor of his brush" (*gran protezza e furia del pennello*), and his practice of seemingly throwing ideas on a page.[19] Roger de Piles noted that such quick pen-and-ink drawings evidenced a roughness or incompleteness commensurate with, and analogous to, a furious stage of mental conceptualization: the first, and most important, thoughts (*premières pensées*) of the artist transferred to paper.[20] As material reflections of the quality of the master's thinking, they held the potential to signal poetic inspiration, deep content, and the industry of a furiously active, working mind so prized in both Renaissance humanist workhops and Lipsian, Neostoic circles in the Lowlands. As Julius Held highlighted, the degree of appreciation for drawings in early modern humanist circles was often inversely proportional to the degree of presumed finish, given that graphic prowess involved the ability to show *more content with less form*, particularly in the less correctible medium of pen and ink.[21] For early modern humanists like Leonardo, Raphael, and Rubens, drawing often meant distilling graphic molehills out of intellectual mountains.

Raphael's quick pen-and-ink *schizzi* of whole and partial studies that capture a single theme, such as *Studies of the Virgin and Child*, 1505–08 (London, British Museum; Plate 16),[22] serve to illustrate the conceptual underpinnings of this type of unfettered drawing, and offer a relevant point of comparison for evaluating the relationship of the Getty sheet to this tradition. As a supreme manifestation of Renaissance *disegno* and its intellectual foundations, the improvisational *Studies of the Virgin and Child* signals Raphael's desire to evoke a single underlying idea – the love and intimacy of mother and child – through multiple, quick graphic iterations underscoring his mental flexibility and quick fluency of mind and hand. Raphael's model was an important one for the Flemish artist. Rubens produced numerous sketches in the *schizzi* tradition of Raphael and Leonardo da Vinci early in his career, including before his Roman period, suggesting he likely learned to draw in this style while a pupil in the workshop of Adam van Noort or, more likely, Otto van Veen. Later, he even structured his own studio on the Wapper in Antwerp according to Raphael's principle of separating mental invention (*inventio*) from manual execution (*executio*). In both workshops, drawings and their conceptual underpinnings (*Idea*) were linked directly to higher-order invention, with drawing and quick sketches playing a highly privileged role in the visual generation of ideas in the studio.

As in Raphael's *Studies of the Virgin and Child*, Rubens quickly expressed his ideas in pen and ink in the Getty sheet, in a creative mindset that physically manifested

the rapidity and fertility of the artist's intellect, and the innate skill of his hand. A desire to express complex concepts with apparent ease, often in figural, narrative form through multiple related sketches, is at the heart of both sheets. Yet, this comparison also highlights the surprising level of artistic consideration behind the Getty sheet's execution.

When comparing the two drawings more closely, it becomes clear that Raphael's mode of drawing appears more fluid; in the Getty sheet Rubens's graphic manner appears halting and subject to the artist's – and his early modern humanist viewer's – considerable intellectual filter. In his *Studies of the Virgin and Child*, Raphael's forms largely evolved *in the process of drawing*, allowing him to demonstrate the searching modalities of his prodigious intellect, and the nimble fluency of his mind and following hand. By contrast, Rubens executed more carefully rendered figural studies grounded not only in a similar idea, but also *in each other*. The crucial difference resides in Rubens's far more deliberative approach: his individual marks appear more intentional, and even, at times, *self-emulated*. Informed by the look of his own initial sketches, Rubens seems to have mentally processed complex ideas by the time he put quill to paper, creating sketches only made to *look* spontaneous. This is drawing that through its style and form betrays itself as a conscious construction of a skilled hand directed by the will of a studied mind highly cognizant of what and the way he was drawing. This level of graphic deliberation – Rubens's self-consciousness as a self-emulative draftsman – seems to be something notable (if not entirely new) in the realm of early modern drawings, and might have further marked the Getty sheet as something worth savoring in early modern humanist circles.

Initial indications of Rubens's self-emulative approach may be located in a cursory examination of the Getty drawing's three figural groupings. For example, the grouping at far right represents an obvious recrafting of the sketch at left (or vice versa, depending on original order of execution), albeit with changes. Even Medea's dead children sound curiously close, imitative notes. Two are held by a single arm and share not only similar hanging dispositions, but also the same highly segmented torsos and twisting bodies. Transformations are evident here too: the arms by which the children are held shift from left to right, and their bodies subtly twist in slightly different directions. Viewed together, the figures demonstrate both formal similarities and important expressive differences.

The drawing's finer details betray Rubens's use of formal repetitions and graphic alterations to express a prevailing idea. They also signal important expressive distinctions that would have keyed careful viewers to the drawing's underlying conceptual complexity. The full-length study at left initially invites close scrutiny (Figure 3.2). As the first study viewed in a typical Western left-to-right reading of the sheet, it commands unusual attention given its relative legibility and the haunting clarity of the female figure's direct gaze. Rendered with tight, precise forms and a matrix of thick, often uninterrupted contours executed sometimes slowly with a heavily loaded quill, it offers the clearest and most complete expression of the drawing's putative subject. With unkempt hair, a tilted head, and a pained facial expression marked by upturned eyebrows and downturned mouth recalling the Laocoön's expression, this otherwise muscular figure exhibits an extreme form of impassioned anguish that surpasses even the most pathetic Hellenistic models. It also includes the first hints of narrative content in the drawing. With left leg bent, toes rigidly flexed, and head turned parallel to the picture plane, the female figure at left



Figure 3.2 Peter Paul Rubens, *Three Sketches for Medea and Her Children* (detail), c. 1600–04, pen and brown ink. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (inv. 84.GA.959, verso). Credit: Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

appears to have stopped abruptly in mid-motion in order to turn and directly plead her case to the viewer. Constructed with sure and relatively slowly modulated lines that precisely express the contours of the exposed upper torso and arm, her body appears broad and muscular, much like other strong female forms from Rubens's early graphic period, such as those found in his early drawings after Tobias Stimmer



Figure 3.3 Peter Paul Rubens, *Three Sketches for Medea and Her Children* (detail), c. 1600–04, pen and brown ink. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (inv. 84.GA.959, verso). Credit: Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

(Plate 1). Rubens also strengthened certain edges around the woman's arm, demonstrating a desire to reinforce or improve upon his initial marks. Such second-order alterations that magnify or slightly change specific graphic features further point to the role that Rubens's active, reasoning mind played in directing his hand around a guiding concept.

By contrast, the female figure at far right betrays a different effect, even if Rubens grounded her in the same general idea (Figure 3.3). Like its more slowly crafted counterpart at left, this Medea wears a full-length classical toga that wraps diagonally over her right shoulder and is positioned in three-quarter pose with a bent left leg. Contrary to the figural elaboration of the grouping at left, this larger study exhibits a loose style characterized by a series of cursory lines that only generally suggest edges or figural contours. In this airy translation, Rubens opted against using shading or internal contours (*binnentrecken*), thereby denying his form the specificity and solidity captured in the figure at left. This abstracted treatment is most pronounced in the hanging child at far right which he constructed with nothing more than a few quick diagonal lines and a simple curved contour for the head. Rubens also drew the Medea at right with a memorable facial expression that, while similarly anguished, appears less focused on the viewer. With eyes turned up and away, hollower and fiercer than the Medea at left, the ghostly apparition seems to operate outside of, or beyond, human consciousness and viewer regard. Unlike the more physically sound and emotionally present Medea at left, this abstracted figure distills the idea at left into a graphic figment showcasing Rubens's rapidly moving hand and the furious flight of his prodigious imagination.

Rubens's treatment of the dead children similarly illustrates a conscious, emulative draftsman behind the quill who was keyed to how formal variation could produce a variety of rhetorical effects. The two children in the far left grouping illustrate this point (Figure 3.2). With oddly lithe, hanging arms and heads, segmented torsos, uneasy bodily twists, and gaping mouths, the children appear both lifeless and graphically integral to the woman. Yet Rubens drew the figures in markedly different manners, to distinct expressive effects. While he sketched the child in the woman's left hand with a series of smooth contours, he drew the child in the woman's right hand (at far left) with strengthened contours and frenzied, parallel hatching. Moreover, he composed the child in the woman's left hand as if hanging in a graceful, twisting "S" curve. By contrast, he executed the contorted, almost monstrous, child at far left with arms and shoulders twisted in ways that defy anatomical possibility. The child's upside down position squarely facing the viewer, his downturned mouth, crescent eyes, and rounded face recall the pictorial moment of the roughly handled, Raphaelesque infant at bottom right in Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem's 1591 painting of the biblical *Massacre of the Innocents* commissioned for the Haarlem Prinsenhof, 1591 (Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum, on long-term loan; Plate 17).[23] The formal similarities and positioning of the figures are especially striking, and may suggest Rubens somehow knew the composition or its underlying model when he executed the Getty sheet.[24] Either way, these figural echoes, highlighting both the innocence and the horror of the massacred children, offer further clues that Rubens approached his drawing in a conceptual, emulative and self-emulative mindset, looking to earlier pictorial models and his own drawings for inspiration.

The central hanging child on the Getty sheet offers an excellent opportunity to examine Rubens's interest in embodying underlying ideas through the judicious

selection of models and moments of self-borrowing. For example, the fragmentary sketch at center echoes, but does not replicate, the gracefully hanging child grasped by the woman at its immediate left (Plate 15). Bearing an unmistakable likeness to its more elaborated graphic analogue, the central study depicts a curiously limp child grasped by a hand extending from a crooked, disembodied arm. This central fragment features a more angular approach to the woman's hand, a less detailed approach to the woman's arm, and most notably, a slower and more sculptural approach to the full-length child situated parallel to the picture plane. Here, Rubens seems to have mentally twisted his initial model at left before drawing the partial graphic iteration at center. Further stylistic shifts underscore this transformation: internal and external contours have been darkened and made more pronounced than in the mirrored figure at left. Such calculated graphic moves arguably point to Rubens's desire to interject more subtle expressive content in his drawing through rhetorically motivated strategies based in stylistic difference and graphic antithesis. In this case, the graphic fragment of a solitary infant handled by a disembodied arm echoes the "telling" detail suggested in the two full-length studies: namely, the actions of an unnatural woman who does not properly care for her young. Here, Rubens's artistry resides in the economy and expressive clarity of a well-drawn idea.

In this context, other examples of artistic deliberation in the Getty sheet quickly emerge. For instance, while the location of the sketches on the sheet might at the outset seem unplanned, closer consideration of their positioning reveals a firm, underlying logic. For one, the placement of the crucial figure at left, pushed to the far side of the sheet, was in all likelihood intentional. One of the pictorial innovations of Flemish Mannerism in Antwerp – a tradition in which Rubens was raised and trained – was an off-center compositional structure that often favored the left side of the support. Further, Rubens carefully situated both full-length Medeas on the sheet on a single implied ground line, despite their differences in scale, thereby heightening the impression that these represent human figures *standing on solid ground* – a feature that also hints at narrative intentions. This subtle, but effective, spatial grounding contrasts with Raphael's practice of liberally scattering his improvisational *schizzi* as if floating across the page, as seen in his *Studies of The Virgin and Child* (Plate 16). Rubens's implication of spatial locality for the figures, however vague, may also be seen in other classically inspired figural drawings from the artist's early, formative oeuvre, including *Three Figures from a Roman Sarcophagus*, c. 1602–06 (Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago; Figure 3.4) and *Alcibiades Interrupting the Symposium* (Figure 1.4). In effect, the Getty drawing represents an updated and more conscious approach to *schizzi*: one evidencing an intellectual artist tuned to achieving a simple look for an otherwise highly deliberate drawing and to evincing deep narrative and emotive content in a composition otherwise stripped bare.

The underlying complexity and often conscious precision of Rubens's sketchy figural iterations also bespeak a new, more focused approach to *all'improvviso* drawing captured in values promoted by Lipsius in the familiar epistolary sphere, especially related to *laconismus* (the brief style) and *simplicitas* (the effect of spontaneity).[25] Drawing on Erasmus's condensed stylistic approach (*brevitas*), Lipsius valued a particularly elliptical, *all'improvviso* style that was allusive, metaphoric, and filled with pregnant possibilities.[26] For Lipsius (like his friend Montaigne), however, simple appearances often consciously masked complex rhetorical strategies. In their writing, *brevitas* and *laconismus* (in Montaigne's lexicon, *le style coupé*) constituted



Figure 3.4 Peter Paul Rubens, *Three Figures from a Roman Sarcophagus*, c. 1602–06, black chalk, 250 × 460 mm. Credit: The Leonora Hall Gurley Collection, The Art Institute of Chicago (inv. 1922.2002).

a condensation of complex meanings through laconic form, and *simplicitas* referred less to spontaneity and ease than their effects.[27] Contemporary Neostoics and erudite humanists prized this laconic mode, or "brief style," for its effectiveness in introducing concepts in a clear, yet simultaneously allusive, manner to knowledgeable humanists. Keen attention to stylistic *effect* and the rhetorical potential of graphic distinctions were part and parcel of this project. As in Lipsius's epistolary project, this also likely involved a desire to elicit the unique, authorial presence of the artist for his own delectation or for an assumed audience ("absent or regarded as absent") and to demonstrate the Lipsian "special candor of a free mind" in a highly intimate, personal work.[28]

As in the case of many of Lipsius's and Rubens's letters, the Getty drawing may seem unusually rapidly executed and unstudied at the outset. Yet the sheet's deliberate figural translations suggest the drawing – like so many of their personal missives – was part and parcel of a relatively controlled, cerebral exercise designed to feign mental and manual spontaneity in an informal context for a presumed erudite viewer, possibly a friend. In other words, the rough and elliptical Getty drawing was almost certainly executed to create the *effect* of spontaneity for contemporary humanists who reveled in savoring monumentally difficult works expressed in condensed and often seemingly simple forms in intimate visual and written formats. As a tangible embodiment of an artist unloading his rarified thoughts in an explosive moment of drawing, the Getty drawing may well reflect the depth of artistic passion of a (male)

artist "letting go" a well-formed idea in a graphic flash of calculated spontaneity.[29] According to De Piles, Rubens surrendered to his own genius in drawing in a distinctive way that also held important authorial implications.[30]

This "think first; quickly execute later" mode of working seems to have been a common one for Rubens in drawing as in painting, and constituted one of the chief – and uniquely notable – characteristics of his intellectual and graphic approach for contemporaries. Recalling Bellori's description of Rubens's "great speed and furor of [his] brush,"[31] the Englishman William Sanderson once noted with surprised delight Rubens's habit of first designing in his mind before unloading his ideas in a fury of quick draftsmanship. Sanderson's first-hand account is based on his observations while visiting Rubens in London in 1629–30. His detailed description of Rubens's *a priori* mental machinations followed by impassioned, almost ejaculatory, execution suggests that lively flights of imagination were particularly associated with Rubens's working methods in drawing, and with the actions of a virtuous and virile male artist, driven by the furies of mental creation into manually letting go with equal fury through the hand on the page. In Sanderson's words:

> In a *draught* of *designe*, the Artist must *fancie* every circumstance of his matter in hand; as usually Rubens would (with his Arms a cross), sit musing upon his work for some time; and in an instant in the livelinesse of spirit, with a nimble hand would force out his over-charged *brain* into description, as not to be contained in the Compass of ordinary practice, but by a violent driving on of the passion. The *Commotions* of the mind, are not to be cooled by slow performance: discreet *diligence*, brings forth *Excellence* . . .[32]

According to Sanderson, Rubens expressed the complexity and vibrancy of his well-considered ideas in a rapid, "all-at-once" manner reflecting his passion for artistic invention and the apparent ease of expressing otherwise considered choices. By Sanderson's description, Rubens's prodigious ideas were necessarily expelled violently and quickly, lest his art suffer the deadening and tedious effects of slow execution or appear as products of an "ordinary" praxis. In keeping with the Renaissance privileging of *Idea* in *disegno*, Rubens's "over-charged brain" provided the key site of artistic invention – with the following hand, and the compositions emerging from it, reflecting physical incarnations, or external signs, of Rubens's intellectual and inventive mastery, "discrete diligence," and lively, creative spirit. Franciscus Junius earlier expressed a related idea when he wrote, "Neither is there anything which can adde a more lively and forcible grace to the worke, than the likenesse of an outward motion, proceeding from the inward commotions of the minde."[33] In the late sixteenth-century Renaissance theoretical terms expressed by Federico Zuccaro, the work constitutes the physical manifestation (*disegno esterno*) of Rubens's internal design (*disegno interno*).[34]

Embracing this improvisational and impassioned laconic style, Rubens arguably set for himself an ambitious – and apt – Lipsian challenge in the Getty drawing: how to express complex, classical ideas grounded in Senecan tragedy, classically inspired models, and contemporary ideas about the passions (*affetti*) in a brief yet eloquent and erudite way. In the Lipsian tradition, one of Rubens's goals seems to have been expressing everything essential (the concept) without wasting "words."[35] Betraying a heightened artistic consciousness and mental creative faculty in a complex drawing

only made to look simple, Rubens challenged the studied viewer of the Getty sheet to do similarly demanding, interpretative work based in an emulatively minded approach to close looking. Here, his *all'improvviso* style may have also served another purpose: to formally conceal Rubens's underlying diligence, while still signaling a prodigious and fertile mental repertoire, and communicating the draftsman's mental and manual *furia* through style alone. The drawing's value for Rubens would likely have resided in the delight elicited from his complex idea and his forceful, yet clear, mental and manual regurgitation of it in a way that slyly made an artistic virtue of what in Neostoic circles might otherwise have been considered an impassioned vice. For Rubens and his humanist friends, the prime payoff surely resided in recognizing and savoring the drawing's moments of unexpected complexity, its more or less latent models of emulation, and its formal cloak of *simplicitas*: seeing in its "undistinguished lineaments" the thoughts – and the signature ways of thinking – of the Studious Artificer laid bare.

Thematic "Raw Material" and the Construction of a Senecan Medea

Rubens's active engagement with artistic and textual models in the Getty sheet most potently points to his *a priori* "overcharged brain" at work in its making. Complex content derived from overlaps with popular Massacre of the Innocents imagery – a subject to which Rubens would return multiple times in his career in paint – and Seneca's Roman first-century version of *Medea* informs the Getty drawing, indicating the draftsman mused on his idea in the context of earlier models before discharging it on the page. Indeed, Rubens steeped the Getty drawing in the pictorial language of classically inspired infanticide imagery. Max Rooses and Michael Baxandall pointed to the pictorial resemblance and thematic relevance of the Getty drawing to conventional Renaissance Massacre of the Innocents imagery, depicting the New Testament scene (Matt. 2:13–18) when Herod ordered the murder of the first-born male Jews in Bethlehem after Jesus's birth.[36] In conventional depictions of the infanticide, sword-wielding soldiers rip infants from their grieving mothers, and dead infants lay scattered about. Throughout antiquity, and well into the seventeenth century, the Herod story proved a favorite subject in art. For example, in addition to Cornelis Cornelisz.'s composition mentioned above (Plate 17), Giovanni Pisano earlier featured the subject in his 1301 marble pulpit relief at Sant'Andrea in Pistoia, and Raphael's pupil Tommaso Vincidor executed three compositions of the *Massacre of the Innocents* as part of the so-called *Scuola Nuova* tapestry series of the Life of Christ in the Vatican. In Rubens's day, Guido Reni also painted a well-known version of the subject in 1611 (Bologna, Pinacoteca), as did Poussin around 1631–32 (Chantilly, Musée Condé). Rubens painted at least two versions of the subject himself: the well-known panel from 1637 in Munich (Alte Pinakothek; Plate 18) and the recently rediscovered, earlier work on panel from circa 1611–12 now housed in the collection of the Art Gallery of Ontario.[37]

Like his own Massacre paintings, the Getty drawing was likely inspired in part by Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving after Raphael's *Massacre of the Innocents* (Figure 3.5), a work that Rubens may have studied while a pupil in Van Veen's workshop and one with which he was likely acquainted. According to P.J. Mariette, Rubens owned a large drawing of the Massacre of the Innocents.[38] In his description

of Crozat's cabinet, Mariette also listed 20 drawings by Rubens after draftsmen including Raphael, Michelangelo, Correggio, Andrea del Sarto, and Titian.[39] According to Julius Held, figures from the *Three Groups of Apostles in a Last Supper* on the Getty sheet's obverse derive from Raphael's designs, known possibly through Marcantonio's prints.[40] There are also visually compelling correspondences between the two works. As in Marcantonio's engraving after Raphael, Rubens focused on middle-aged female figures with grievous facial expressions, holding lifeless children, often left carelessly dangling by one limb. In the Getty sheet, these features similarly highlight the primary concepts of deep maternal grief, and the violence of the children's murders. Also reminiscent of the central figure in Raphael's design, the woman's pained gaze at left in the Getty composition is shot directly towards the viewer, demanding an immediate, emotive response of empathy or pity. According to Franciscus Junius, there were but two reasons for the arousal of the passions: to elicit pity or hatred.[41] Thijs Weststijn recently linked this concern to interests in seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish circles, including Rubens's, in achieving the classical, Greek goal of *enargeia*, or in her words, to "the ability to conjure up a lifelike image . . . which was necessary to move the spectator of tragedy to one of the two cathartic emotions."[42] Rubens apparently selected Raphael's model for the underlying concept of pathos as much, or more, than for superficial forms. Translating an esteemed, recognizable model of related content in an original way allowed Rubens to endow his composition with nuanced meanings not present in prior depictions of the Medea myth. With the biblical Massacre in mind, erudite viewers would have also been pictorially encouraged to consider thematic meanings *not directly depicted in the*

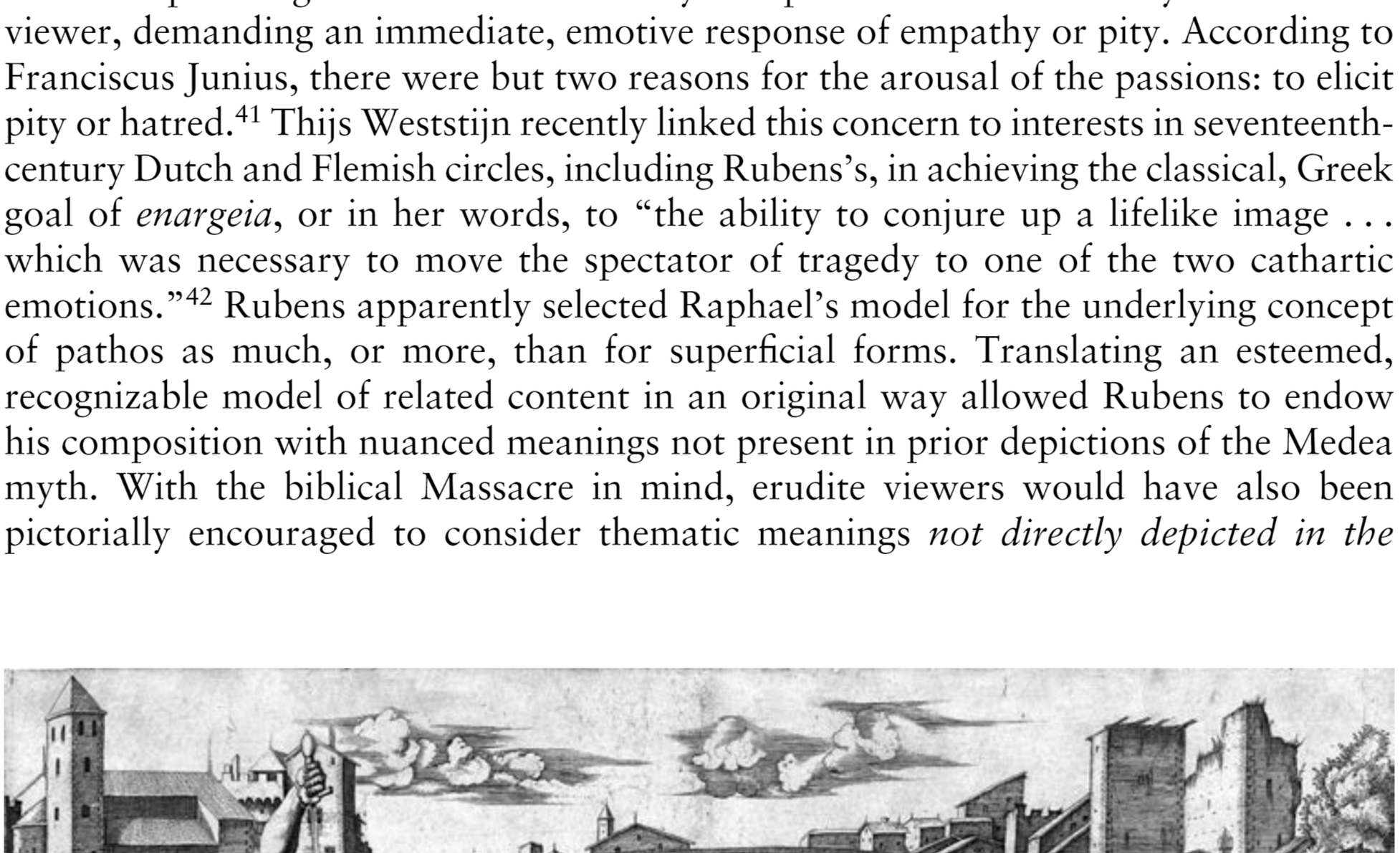


Figure 3.5 Marcantonio Raimondi (after Raphael), *Massacre of the Innocents*, c. 1511, engraving, 280 × 437 mm. Credit: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam/Bridgeman Images.

drawing, especially the unjustified nature of the infant deaths. By drawing thematic overlaps with Raphael's well-known model, he created the conditions for generating more nuanced interpretations and multivalent meanings, as valued in the circles of Lipsius and Montaigne.

Apt models inform the Getty drawing, helping to make it both conceptually clear and complex. Invoking key elements of a well-known biblical infanticide scene must have struck Rubens as well suited for the original expression of the model of a grief-stricken, filicidal figure from classical mythology. Despite their differences, the two still share thematic "raw material" (*Rohmaterial*) based in maternal grief and the unjustifiable murder of infants.[43] In a number of early drawings, Rubens even demonstrated a related penchant for drawing thematic correspondences by sorting his subjects by theme.[44] This typological mode of pictorial thinking, which allowed for more complex interpretations based on the use of partially overlapping, or so-called "hybrid" imagery, stands as one of the hallmarks of Rubens's artistic practice, and was one of his chief mechanisms for underscoring thematic content in new ways. The reappearance of the "grieving mother" in Rubens's much later 1637 *Massacre of the Innocents* panel in Munich (Plate 18),[45] and even in the black-clad figure of "grieving Europa" in his *Horrors of War*, c. 1637 (Florence, Pitti Palace; Plate 5), highlights Rubens's predilection for reusing such forms in new, and often much later, contexts to expressive ends, and shows he worked out his *idea* of the wailing, murderous mother decades earlier, or at least as early as the Getty sheet.

Pictorial overlaps with imagery of the Massacre of the Innocents would have also produced another important outcome. Careful viewers, cognizant of the principle of Renaissance emulation which demanded that important distinctions between a work and its model be recognized and accounted for, would have been encouraged to consider Rubens's reasoning for his curious choice of this model for the Medea drawing. One aspect of Rubens's choice and translation of his model is particularly worth considering in this regard: namely, that the Getty drawing invites the viewer to identify the murderous, guilty party through the figural association with well-known Massacre imagery.[46] Notice that the figure dangling the dead children heartlessly by a single limb is not a Roman (male) soldier as in Marcantonio's biblical *Massacre*, but rather their murderous mother. Demonstrating great originality, a flexible mode of thinking, and a penchant for rhetorical inversions, Rubens's *Medea* – partially through its form and typological relationship to massacre scenes – represents a conflation of the two biblical figures in the Massacre (the grieving mother and murderous soldier), translated into one highly resonant figure set in a new mythological context. In other words, Medea – the classical model of the heartless mother – plays both the roles of the anonymous, murderous soldiers *and* the grieving mothers who mourn the untimely loss of their offspring. Avoiding the overt violence of the Massacre scene allowed Rubens to retain sharper focus on Medea's grief, even as two important pictorial cues – the dangling, upside-down children found in numerous Massacre of the Innocents scenes, and a tiny, easily overlooked stake protruding from the torso of the child at left – provide subtle hints to her identity as murderess. In effect, Rubens seems to have had the Massacre of the Innocents model in mind because it simultaneously allowed him to communicate two conflicting sides of Medea: grieving mother (explicit) and heartless murderess (implied).

Such conceptual implications open up important questions and interpretative avenues that surely would have piqued the interest of viewers who knew both the biblical and mythological tales. Why would Rubens have wanted to portray a murderous mother in such an apparently empathetic light? And, if eliciting empathy and tragic human content were his primary expressive intents, as seems so clear at the outset, why specify Medea, the incarnation of the not-to-be-trusted mother who would murder her own children out of spite and passion? In the end, did Rubens intend the viewer to pity or revile her? Themes of human responsibility, guilt, maternal anguish, and empathy, informed by underlying models, exist side by side in the drawing, suggesting something even more complicated – conceptually, as well as formally – is at play in the drawing.

Thankfully, Rubens offered some explicit interpretative help in this regard. A faint, identifying, pen and chalk inscription in the artist's Latin hand at the drawing's upper right edge identifies its putative subject and implicitly points to Seneca's influence (Figure 3.6). The inscription reads (first in brown ink): "vel Medea respiciens Creusam ardentem et Jasonem velut Inseguens" (Medea looking back at the burning Creusa and Jason as if pursuing [?]); and then again more faintly – and aptly – in red chalk: "Creusa ardens [?]" (Creusa burning [?]).[47] This tiny, yet illuminating, notation offers the clearest indication that the artist had the specific classical tragedy, *Medea*, and the actions of its chief protagonist, in mind at the time of the Getty sheet's execution. Written in the classical language Rubens reserved for erudite allusions in his drawings, the two-part Latin inscription refers generally to the well-recognized tale best known through Euripides's version and Seneca's later, first-century, Roman retelling of the murderous Medea who jealously slew her two sons over Jason's infidelity.[48] The inscription specifically names the three primary characters of this tragic love triangle: Medea; Jason, her husband; and Creusa, the queen whom Jason wished to marry after deserting Medea, and on whom Medea, in turn, used her destructive magic potion before she revengefully murdered her own children. As such, it firmly establishes the drawing's primary figure as Medea with dead children in hand, who is shown fleeing (a conspicuously absent) Jason after she magically set his new wife, Queen Creusa (also absent from the drawing), ablaze. The Latin reference to Creusa in the inscription is an important one; it points specifically to an edition of Seneca's Latin version as Rubens's source, not Euripides's earlier Greek version which identifies her as Queen Glauce. Rubens's double notation of "Creusa burning" also likely points



Figure 3.6 Peter Paul Rubens, *Three Sketches for Medea and Her Children* (detail), c. 1600–04, pen and brown ink. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (inv. 84.GA.959, verso). Credit: Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

to the Roman Stoic's version given that Seneca emphasized Creusa's dramatic immolation in a way not present in other well-known versions of the play, including Euripides's.

In light of the inscription's importance for highlighting Rubens's Senecan inspiration, it is noteworthy that his faint script is hardly visible and thus was likely not intended to be immediately read. When Rubens added textual notations to his drawings, as he did in his *Venus Lamenting Adonis*, c. 1612 (Washington, National Gallery; Plate 14), he often made them far more legible, and placed them closer to the related drawing.[49] However, as was the case with other drawings from this period that include similarly faint marginal notations, as in the pen-and-ink *Alcibiades Interrupting the Symposium* (Figure 1.4) that identifies the figures of Alcibiades, Plato, and Socrates through inscriptions now visible only under ultraviolet light,[50] the Getty image was almost certainly meant to be viewed first without the aid of the written key. Absent this information, and given the typological correspondences with early modern Massacre of the Innocents imagery, viewers would likely have been challenged to identify its subject, and understand that deeper concepts or intents were simultaneously also likely at play.

Acting as a key for its specific, classical subject matter, Rubens's inscription may have been conceived as a way to identify the drawing's protagonist and its classical source for those stumped by its ambigious subject matter. As Elizabeth McGrath has proposed for the Alcibiades drawing, the Getty drawing may have been intended to appeal to fellow humanists in the way that erudite games or puzzles were played to stimulate learned conversation or intellectual delight.[51] As in his Latin inscription on the *Venus Lamenting Adonis* drawing – "Spiritum morientis excipit ore" (She draws out the spirit of the dying youth through his mouth) – the passage on the Getty sheet speaks to classical, narrative concerns that also comment in an active, present tense upon the action and greater theme of the drawing.[52] Using drawings as focal points of erudite discourse was common in humanist circles since the sixteenth century and was a practice that Rubens seems to have embraced.

Rubens and humanists in his circle sometimes even included interesting designs in their personal epistles to erudite friends.[53] A relatively rare, early seventeenth-century design of the supernatural Medea in her chariot based on a relief surrounding an antique torso belonging to the learned Italian Paolo Gualdo (1553–1621) was even the subject of an extensive discussion in letters between Girolamo Aleandro (1574–1654) and Rubens's friend Peiresc. The illustration depicts Medea on her serpent-driven chariot as the triumphant classical divinity and unflappable sorceress boldly bearing torches in each hand. No allusion is made to her children, Jason, or Creusa. Peiresc mentioned the image at least twice in his correspondence to Aleandro, who wrote about the relief's unusual iconography in his *Typus zonae statuae* . . . (Paris, 1617), linking it to an allegory of Time.[54] This correspondence suggests that Medea iconography was not only of particular concern in Rubens's circles, but also worthy of serious humanist debate. Whether originally intended as a description of, or commentary on, the drawing's recondite content, or as a key to an elite, humanist parlor game *avant la lettre*, the Getty inscription offers modern viewers a critical point of departure for exploring Rubens's classicizing concerns in the drawing, even as it suggests that the artist intended the drawing to challenge the most observant of humanist scholars.

Absent the inscription, the subject of the Getty sheet might also have been challenging for contemporaries to identify given the lack of available Medea models focusing on

her emotive, human side in Rubens's day. Extant classical examples of the subject that would have been known in Rubens's day in and around Rome, such as the marble relief then in the Vatican Belvedere (Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano; Plate 19),[55] were found mostly on Roman low-relief sarcophagi. These narrative bas-reliefs commonly highlighted Medea's supernatural divinity and the grief Creusa suffered at her hand. Medea iconography was relatively rare in medieval and early modern Europe, especially before the early seventeenth century. Other imagery of Medea that existed prior to the drawing was chiefly found in Renaissance emblem books circulating widely by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. A mixture of text and image, early modern emblems focused largely on Medea's supernatural, murderess nature, and characterized her as a cold, savage, fury. Rubens was well acquainted with numerous northern and Italian emblem books, including some that included the Medea emblem, and is known to have used emblems from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1598) and Andrea Alciati's *Emblemata* (1522) as sources for imagery in his own original compositions. Rubens would have likely known Medea emblems particularly through Alciati's *Emblemata*, published in multiple editions by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. While he is known to have extensively consulted Alciati's 1621 Padua edition,[56] his wide-ranging knowledge of emblem books early in his career and his close ties with the Plantin-Moretus publishing house in Antwerp suggests that he probably knew one or more of the earlier versions as well before the Getty sheet's execution, including the Lyon 1551 edition and possibly the Antwerp edition of 1584.[57]

Contrary to Medea's divine representation in classical sarcophagi, Alciati's emblems particularly emphasized her maternal cruelty, her status as unnatural mother, and the heinousness of her crimes. One early emblem in the Paris 1536 edition of Andrea Alciati's *Emblems* casts Medea as a woman full of fury who acts in violation of both nature and maternal love. The accompanying text emphasizes her heartless depravity: "She sucked out the soul of her son; having no pity for her own."[58] In the later Padua 1621 edition, she is similarly presented as "the savage Medea, a wicked parent who killed her own children,"[59] and metaphorically, by extension, as a cold, inhuman "Stone of a Woman" whom Jason decries in Euripides's version.[60] Alciati's Medea aptly appears in the accompanying print as an expressionless statue set in a niche frozen in the act of stabbing one of her children with a dagger, while the other lies dead below (Figure 3.7). The accompanying text reminds the viewer of Medea's status as the model of the untrustworthy parent, in a warning not to depend on those who would turn so coldly on their own.[61] The emblematic suggestion of Medea's *fait accompli*, embodied by the child at her feet, provides a potent visual analogue for the tragic figure's inability to suppress her evil thoughts and corresponding actions.

If Rubens was influenced by such emblematic representations, it was likely their idea of Medea as negative *exemplum* which most attracted him, not their imagery or more specific characterizations of the mythic figure. A new, moralizing approach to Medea, in part driven by admonitions about the dangers of unchecked passions, fueled the figure's re-emergent popularity in early seventeenth-century northern humanist literary, dramatic, and pictorial circles. One widely circulated Flemish emblem suggests that the iconography of a child carelessly held and swung by the ankles particularly implied such cautionary, moralizing content. In an emblem from Cesare Ripa's and Jean Baudoin's *Iconologie* (Paris, 1643) engraved by Rubens's friend and correspondent Jacques de Bie, a child is violently held and swung by the ankles by a towering, rugged man. Entitled *The Stifling of Bad Thoughts*

inquit, iuſidioſa, blandaq; ſemper eſt adulatio. Diogenem Cynicum ſcitè admodum & verè ſolitum dicere accepimus: χρεῖττον εἶναι ἐς κόρακας ἀπελθεῖν, ἢ ἐς κόλακας. id eſt: *præſtare ad coruos redigi, quàm adulatoribus exponi*. quoniam illi mortuorum modò conſectentur, hi etiam viuos bonosque laniatu peſtifero excarnificent. Idem interrogatus, quænam beſtia morſum haberet omnium nocentiſſimum? reſpondit, Si de feris interrogas, eſt obtrectator: ſi de manſuetis, eſt adulator. Nam obtrectator quidem præ ſe fert odium, adulator autem ſub amici perſona multò lædit grauius. Et hi tales qui probe loquuntur, & improbè faciunt, χρυσόλογοι dicuntur, qui norunt propinare θανάτιμον μεθύπνωτον. *Ein Judas Kuſſ.*

Das ſeind die rechten Katzen

Die vornen leecken vnd hinden Krazen.

Adulatorum mores graphicè depingit Terentius Eunucho:

Omnia habeo, nec quidquam habeo: nihil eum eſt, nihil deſit tamen.

Adulatoris mores.

Eſt genus hominum, qui eſſe primos ſe omnium rerum volunt,

Nec ſunt: hos conſector: hiſce ego nõ paro me vt irrideant,

Sed hus vltrò arrideo: & eorum ingenia admiror ſimul.

Quicquid dicunt laudo: id rurſum ſi negant, laudo id quoq;

Negat quis, nego: ait, aio.

Poſtremò imperaui egomet mihi

Omnia aſſentari; ius quæſtus nunc eſt multò vberrimus.

Sed de hac malè feriatorum hominum turba aliàs.

Ei, qui ſemel ſua prodegerit, aliena credi non oportere.

EMBLEMA LIIII.



Figure 3.7 *Medea Killing Her Children*, engraving from Andrea Alciati's *Emblemata* (Padua, 1621), emblem 54. Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek, 999/Lat.rec.40. Permalink: http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11068683-2.

(*Estouffement des Mauvaises Pensées*), the emblem functioned as a warning of the dangers of unspeakable actions that would befall those who failed to suppress evil intents.[62] In a similar vein, Rubens earlier employed the motif of the carelessly held children in the Getty sheet to evoke the notion of Medea's unthinkable cruelty, and perhaps, by extension, to warn also against the considerable dangers wrought by a loss of reason. Yet, it is noteworthy that Rubens also avoided overt violence in his scene and complicated his drawing by according Medea an obvious measure of human anguish or sorrowful regret not present in classical visual models.

A more emotive, pitiable characterization for Medea, albeit in more subdued form, may also be seen in Rubens's only other known pictorial engagement with the subject. His earlier pen-and-ink drawing dated to c. 1601 (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen; Figure 3.8) evidences a more human side to Medea was already on his



Figure 3.8 Peter Paul Rubens, *Medea Fleeing in Her Chariot*, c. 1601, pen and ink. Credit: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (inv. MB 5001 PK). Photograph: Studio Tromp, Rotterdam.

mind at a time when he was most actively engaged with the so-called Mantuan Circle and Lipsius's ideas. In the earlier, Rotterdam drawing, Rubens emulated the Medea figure at far right on a classical Roman sarcophagus that he may have seen in Mantua, of which there is also a version in the Museo Nazionale Romano (Plate 19).[63] A comparison of the Rotterdam drawing with the sarcophagus relief highlights Rubens's relative fidelity to his classical model. In keeping with his classical antecedent, Rubens represented a largely supernatural Medea in the Rotterdam sheet – the daughter of the Sun dominating Euripides's version – stealing away in her serpent-driven chariot that provided the means of her quick and defiant departure following the murder of her children. Common in classical Medea imagery, the chariot constituted the attribute that most forcefully communicated Medea's divine powers and triumph.[64] By contrast with the Museo Nazionale Romano relief, the Rotterdam drawing also points to Rubens's early interest in emphasizing a more human side to Medea than was commonly present in antique representations. In this instance, his transformations from the classical model included adding a particularly worried expression on Medea's face by accentuating her dark, deep-set eyes and lifted brow. He also placed pronounced emphasis on her dead children in the chariot, and omitted other common Medea attributes associated with her triumph, especially her murderous sword. The effect of these alterations is that Rubens translated the classical Medea in the earlier Rotterdam sheet into a more empathetic, emotive figure than those found in antique reliefs and early modern emblems, even as he retained her supernatural identity.

In the slightly later Getty sheet, Rubens supercharged his more human characterization of Medea. Apparently bucking classical sculptural representations of Medea, Rubens again omitted her traditional attributes including the murderous sword and, this time, her magical serpent-led chariot, too. Given the drawing's Senecan-inspired inscription emphasizing Creusa's immolation, another Medea attribute is also conspicuously absent in the Getty drawing: the bottle of poison that was Medea's magical tool for the Queen's fiery demise. Like the chariot and sword, the poison container constituted a staple of Medea's iconography in classical representations, signaling her identity as a magician driven by passion and vengeance to murder.[65] Other conventional indications of her cold, imperious nature are notably absent in the drawing, too. In antiquity, Medea was often shown towering defiantly above her dead children in her chariot, or sitting with them at her feet following the filicide.[66] Here, instead, an emotionally defeated Medea is inventively depicted fleeing on foot with dead children carelessly in hand, an iconography not present in either established classical or early modern emblematic depictions of the subject.[67]

What might account for this strikingly new iconography emphasizing Medea's humanity? For this, it is worth turning more closely to Rubens's Lipsian-inspired interest in Seneca the Younger (4 BCE–65 CE), who in his Latin play *Medea* emphasized at key moments Medea's humanity, however flawed.[68] While acknowledging her divine, combustible side, Seneca presented an impassioned, pitiable Medea whose actions were driven by extreme, human emotions – the Stoic enemies of right reason and sound judgment. Seneca's Medea was pushed to unthinkable deeds because she let her otherwise admirable love for her deserting husband, Jason, turn to extreme jealousy, and thus she offered a tragic warning against the dangerous loss of self-control. Provoking human empathy for his chief protagonist was arguably one key rhetorical strategy Seneca embraced to render his tragedy memorably affective. Medea's direct, grieving stare in the Getty sheet is directed both at an implied Jason

in pursuit (as indicated in Rubens's inscription) *and* the viewer to whom she makes her tragic case. Moved to otherwise unthinkable acts by her intense love of her unfaithful husband, this Medea is guided by Seneca's characterization of his tragic heroine as wholly alert, yet functioning outside of reason. Like Seneca's Medea, she is presented as a solitary, liminal figure, alone on the stage, operating beyond the margins of civilization.[69] In this light, one scholar's description of Seneca's Medea holds relevance for the Getty Medea too: "[She] is frightfully aware and frightfully in control . . . Medea is fully conscious. She gives passion license, and in return, gains power."[70] Here, Seneca's own observations in his *Natural Questions* on human torment and the dangers of self-sufficiency also seem relevant. "We suffer at times," Seneca wrote, "from self-love, at times from self-weariness. Now we inflate our unhappy soul with pride, now we torture it with desire. Sometimes we relax it with indulgence, sometimes we burn it up with anxiety; and what is most pitiful of all: we are never alone with ourselves . . ." (*Nat. Quest.*, IV, pref. 1).[71]

Seneca's relevance to the Getty Medea is further supported by Rubens's unusally close engagement with the Latin philosopher's texts and ideas during his Roman period. According to Julius Held, "Since [Rubens] was an admirer of Lipsius, the Senecan specialist, he was probably familiar with Seneca's tragedy, *Medea*."[72] Rubens engaged with Seneca's texts throughout his career. He was most interested in the Stoic philosopher's ideas during his early Roman years when Lipsius, Lipsius's Senecan editions, and Lipsian Neostoicism most profoundly affected his work.[73] Rubens likely not only had unfettered access to Seneca's writings during this period (many of which were published by the Plantin Press in Antwerp and Leiden in new editions), but also appears to have liberally imbibed these texts, translating many of the figures and themes then associated with Seneca's larger body of work into a range of compositions. These included large-scale history paintings, replete with strong and virtuous leaders, expressing Neostoic themes of reasoned constancy and moral fortitude.[74] While the Getty sheet offers a very different face of Rubens's interest in Seneca than do paintings such as his *Dying Seneca* in Munich, and the heroicizing, Neostoic-inspired *Death of Decius Mus*, these works may be conceptually related after all. If the history paintings advertised Rubens's Neostoic values of constancy and reason writ large in the context of the heroic male, then the Getty sheet projected a more intimate, personal warning against their rejection, using the female Medea as a memorable exemplar of the dangers inherent in the weaker (read: "feminine") passions inevitably turning to vile transgressions unless properly constrained.

Rubens's chief pictorial outlet for his interest in Senecan tragedy and the expression of the passions resided in drawings depicting tragic, impassioned female subjects. A small number of pen-and-ink mythologies inspired by Senecan and other classical tragedies dominated by an impassioned woman executed during, or just after, Rubens's 1600–08 Roman period confirms this.[75] The Getty sheet has long rightly been considered one of this grouping. For the only time in his career, Rubens's drawings featured mythological female protagonists inspired by the classical dramatist's tragedies for which no related paintings, tapestries, or other so-called "finished" works by Rubens are known.[76] Like the Getty sheet, they all appear to have been produced largely for their own sakes.[77] In addition to the Getty sheet and the earlier Rotterdam *Medea Fleeing in Her Chariot*, c. 1601, this group of quick pen-and-ink drawings includes *The Death of Dido*, c. 1600–03 (Brunswick, ME, Bowdoin College Museum of Art; Figure 3.9), the related *Studies of the Suicide of Dido* (or *Thisbe*?) (Paris,



Figure 3.9 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Death of Dido*, 1600–03, pen and brown ink on paper, 95.3 × 115 mm. Bequest of Helen Johnson Chase (Mrs. Stanley P.) (inv. 1958.67). Credit: Bowdoin College Museum of Art, ME; www.bowdoin.edu/art-museum.

Louvre),[78] a study of the grieving *Niobe* (Moscow, Pushkin Museum), a drawing of *Hero and Leander* in New Haven, and a drawing once identified by Held as *The Death of Creusa* but more recently identified by McGrath as *Nero Contemplating the Dead Agrippina* (Bayonne, Musée Bonnat).[79] The formal and thematic similarities between the Getty drawing and these sheets contribute to its dating at the height of Rubens's interest in mythological narratives, particularly those with Senecan themes. Like Seneca, who demonstrated a fondness for brevity, and who avoided proper names in his *Medea* to heighten the play's difficulty for the audience, Rubens constructed this grouping in an abstracted, ambiguous manner, drawing his protagonists in generalizing ways that would have made any viewer work hard to recognize them.[80]

Lipsius provided some of the most important sources for Rubens's engagement with Seneca and the Roman tragedies, including Seneca's *Medea*. Rubens owned not one, but two, versions of Lipsius's *Complete Works of Seneca*, both published in Antwerp. These included a first, 1605 edition, entitled *L[ucii] Annaei Senecae philosophi Opera, quae exstant omnia: a Justo Lipsio emendate et scholiis illustrate* (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Press), published around the time of the Getty sheet's execution. Lipsius

widely annotated this edition of Seneca's philosophical works in marginal pen-and-ink notes soon after the publication of the first edition, and before his death in March 1606.[81] While Lipsius did not include the tragedies then attributed to Seneca the Younger, including *Medea*, in his 1605 *Opera Omnia*,[82] he did note in a Raphelengius edition of the Latin tragedies (*Animadversiones in Tragoedias quae L. Annaeo Senecae tribuuntur*, 1588) then widely attributed to Seneca and which included *Medea* that *Medea* was the only tragedy securely attributed to the Latin Stoic.[83] This volume was also reprinted by Raphelengius with emendations by Lipsius in a 1601 Antwerp edition.[84] Lipsius thus considered *Medea* his most important, and perhaps only, play. In light of Rubens's involvement with Lipsius's annotated 1605 *Opera Omnia* and the fact that he held the volume in his personal library, it is almost certain he would have also sought out the 1588 or (perhaps more likely) the 1601 Antwerp edition of the Latin tragedies that included Seneca's *Medea* and Lipsius's commentary on them. In addition to his references to Medea in the 1588 and 1601 editions, Lipsius also made reference to Seneca's *Medea* twice in his widely read *Politica*.[85]

Given that Seneca's *Medea* was almost certainly on Rubens's mind at the time of the drawing's execution, it bears noting that the Getty sheet fails to illustrate any particular moment from Seneca's text, or any other version of the Medea myth. Rather, the drawing represents an original visualization, inspired by Seneca's ideas, but largely of Rubens's own making.

Ironically, the inventive complexity of Rubens's graphic homage to Seneca's *Medea* is first hinted at by the content and structure of the sheet's identifying inscription. If we are to trust Rubens's inscription as generally reflecting the drawing's underlying content, the sheet treats a starkly original narrative moment for which no single textual or visual source has been identified: Medea's desperate flight from Jason after the infanticide, set in the implicit context of Queen Creusa's immolation. While the Getty inscription appears broadly grounded in Seneca's account, no dramatic account of the story, classical or early modern, includes a passage in which all three of these moments occur, or which mentions Medea fleeing on foot (much less looking back at a pursuing Jason). Rather, Rubens's design reflects an inventive conflation of different concepts in the classical drama sprinkled with new ideas, all pointing toward the artist's interest in conveying another primary theme in the drawing: the psychological frenzy of Medea's grief-stricken flight from her beloved Jason and the dead Creusa following the jealous murder of her children. The drawing's narrative thrust is thus less grounded in a desire to pictorially *describe* a scene from Seneca's play than in an inventive impulse, inspired by Seneca and prior visual models, to highlight the emotions and actions of a Senecan *grande âme* and the consequences of her untamed actions. In this case, classical Roman drama, like classical sculpture, functioned as the conceptual springboard for creating something new and updated: the graphic exploration and refiguration of Medea mostly along human, Senecan lines for a new generation of Stoic adherents.

Even the drawing's dramatic impulses contribute to a new, human Senecan identity for Medea. As the inscription implies, Medea's desperate flight provides the primary narrative focus in the drawing, displaying a physical manifestation of Medea's frenetic state. Rubens emphasized the theme of flight in multiple inventive ways in the drawing. In addition to placing his female figures in bodily positions that emphasize incipient movement, Rubens expressed rapid physical movement by serializing his quick figural sketches. Marked by an active bodily comportment, with knee bent,

toes raised, and hair streaming in Raphaelesque sheets implying both speed of movement and the *furia* of his phantom figure, this Medea is designed to move, not in a magic chariot, but now – quite inventively – of her own volition. This self-propelled movement is further reinforced stylistically if the sketches are viewed unconventionally from right to left. When viewed in this way, otherwise independent sketches appear as multiple manifestations of the same fleeing figure in action, seen moments apart. These serialized figures thus create the possibility of a one-way narrative progression of a single figural grouping across the page through clear modal shifts. If Rubens intended such a right-to-left, serialized reading of the drawing, this was in all likelihood a strategy largely of Rubens's invention, designed as a novel means to insert further classical narrative content and ideas into his designs. Anthony van Dyck, Rubens's most talented pupil, appears to have learned this graphic approach from his teacher as well. In *Adam and Eve Expelled from the Garden* (Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet), for example, Van Dyck expressed the rapid flight of Adam and Eve from the Garden, who also seem to run frantically as if from right to left across the sheet in serialized studies, away from an implied and threatening force.[86]

The facture of the Getty drawing thus leaves open the possibility, as in Van Dyck's later sheet, of reading the studies, not as single sketches, but as a progressive narrative sequence of the same figure of Medea moving quickly across the page. In this context, the loosely and more faintly drawn grouping at right in the Getty sheet appears as an abstracted blur, graphically embodying the perceptual condition typical of viewing a body in rapid motion.[87] In this unusual, but not wholly uncharacteristic, reading, the more slowly drawn, stilled grouping at left may thus be understood as the action's intended narrative conclusion, full stop. In this framework, stylistic distinctions in the drawing might also be reconciled as changes in the figures' physical condition, position, or even speed of movement. Rubens seems to have been highly sensitive to issues of pictorial directionality in his early period. In his well-known studies after Tobias Stimmer (Plate 1), he emulated esteemed models in reverse, thereby demonstrating his superior spatial and mental faculties in broadly mirroring his printed model. At times, according to Horst Gerson, he also reversed his own compositions perhaps as a type of visual memory game.[88]

Representing changes of temporal and physical state through serialized figures expressed in a stylistically varied manner was a graphic strategy that Rubens in all likelihood adopted from Leonardo and his drawings of figural motion. In drawings such as Leonardo's studies of men jumping from one place to the next executed in connection with his *Battle of Anghiari* commission, 1503–04 (Venice, Galleria dell'Accademia; Plate 20), Leonardo registered shifts in figural position and distinctions in speed of movement through multiple studies of a figure set in successive poses in close proximity to one another, executed more or less quickly with more or less graphic clarity. As in the Getty drawing, speed of drawing and loose, inexact rendering expressed relative speeds of movement and the blur characteristic of viewing an object in rapid motion. Such serialized figures presage modern stroboscopic devices such as those developed by English photographer Eadweard Muybridge (1830–1940) that capture a single figure moving across the viewer's field of vision in rapid succession in "stop motion." Rubens similarly used such figural serializations throughout his career to suggest physical and temporal shifts. For instance, he used serialization in a wide array of drawings to suggest a range of movements, including the motion of bodily limbs, the swinging of a hinged thrashing stick, as in the *Man Threshing*

beside a Wagon (Plate 4), and the fluency of dance, as in the much later *Peasants Dancing* (Studies for a *Kermesse*), c. 1629–32 (Plate 21). In some early mythologies, Rubens's serialized forms may also have reflected more specific psychological content, as in the red chalk drawing of Hercules in the British Museum, c. 1615–21 (London, Plate 22), in which a heavy and animated Hercules seems to walk slowly, emphasizing the melancholic demeanor of its Hellenistic model, the Farnese Hercules. In Frances Huemer's words, the drawing's "intensity of movement" is "inextricably linked with an intensity of meaning."[89] The same could be said of the Getty sheet. As the chorus in Euripides's Medea exclaimed, "For this grief of hers is charging powerfully forward."[90]

The dramatic Latin inscription on the Getty sheet further suggests the drawing was meant to capture a narrative apex in Medea's plight, and that her actions and reactions were meant to be viewed as occuring, *in the present*, before the viewer's very eyes. The highly rhetorical inscription identifying Medea as "looking back at the burning Creusa and Jason as if pursuing" and aptly, in (fiery) red chalk, "Creusa burning [?]," points out Rubens's interest in the simultaneity of the three imagined actions: each of the verbs is written in the present participle, as if each were taking place concurrently in the present. It is as if Rubens selected three of the most dramatically charged moments of the classical texts and then distilled them in a Senecan way to their most crucial elements (i.e., character + action), presented as if the viewer were plunged into the middle of the most critical point in the tragedy, as in contemporary French Senecan theater, *in medias res*.[91] In essence, the drawing (in light of its inscription) represents the distillation of one continuous, supercharged action taking place in the moment[92] – a highly dramatic, theatrically inspired crescendo capped by Medea's pitiable appeal to the viewer, who is effectively positioned as the "pursuing Jason" himself. This approach would have had other dramatic benefits for Rubens as well. It would have satisfied an Aristotelian interest in the beauty of tragedy and dramatic *catharsis* with a final, emotional purging, especially in the figure at right. It would have also pictorially fulfilled the contemporary, Aristotelian-inspired taste for "unity of action," whereby French classical tragedies of the seventeenth century were conventionally condensed into one primary storyline with few important characters for maximum dramatic impact, with all other plotlines linked to it.[93] As the Getty sheet's "supercharged" dramatic focus suggests, Rubens's interest in reinventing Senecan-inspired classical narrative in condensed and affective imagery for a new era, aimed squarely at memorably affecting an implied viewer, ran very deeply indeed.

Drawing in Roman: Classical Emulation and the *All'Antica* Style

The Getty drawing represents a quintessentially Rubensian, humanist production of the artist's Neostoic Roman years set in an aptly antique style. Reflecting what De Piles called Rubens's "love of all things having the character of antiquity,"[94] the Getty drawing constitutes a case of Rubens drawing Senecan themes "in Roman," possibly out of a desire to revive the form and content of Senecan classical theater. A classical tragic subject like Medea demanded *gravitas*, accorded both through the presence of underlying classical models, and a plain, laconic stylistic approach that would graphically bespeak it. For contemporary humanists, antique and classically inspired

references underlying the drawing would have been seen to confer an appropriately serious *all'antica* style on tragic classical subject matter.[95] In early modern humanist circles, such classical borrowings were directly associated with the time-honored nature, and perceived nobility, of classizicing themes. In Jacob de Bie's emblem entitled *Gravité* published in the *Iconologie* of 1643, Rubens's Flemish acquaintance graphically literalized the association between learned classical allusions, ancient Roman *gravitas*, and nobility of subject by featuring a statue of a Roman military figure touched by a female allegorical figure of knowledge.[96] Like Seneca in his version of *Medea*, Rubens challenged and likely flattered his audience by introducing original iconography, the layered meanings of which only the erudite humanist or studied viewer would have grasped.[97]

The number and range of Rubens's sources for the drawing were vast. In the classical realm, low-relief Attic sarcophagi provided the most important sources of borrowing; similarly, it was largely through Roman funerary imagery that Medea iconography was known all the way into the nineteenth century.[98] Rubens studied many of these models, including the sarcophagus relief of the Medea cycle discussed earlier (Plate 19), directly in Italy or through Renaissance prints in his personal collection.[99] Narrative relief cycles provided the most important source for Rubens's treatment, though he often seemed more interested in borrowing a single figure or motif from a larger composition (as witnessed in his Rotterdam Medea drawing), than replicating the conventional narrative structure of classical sarcophagi. The Getty drawing, for example, lacks the chronological, episodic approach to visual narrative featuring multiple scenes present in most classical sarcophagi of the Medea myth.

What separates the Getty sheet from the earlier Rotterdam drawing (Figure 3.8), though, is the striking number and thematic aptness of his classical borrowings. One such moment of classical emulation in the drawing, likely borrowed from a particular Roman sarcophagus relief, is Medea's classicizing Roman garb. In contrast to Rubens's earlier drawing of Medea in Rotterdam in which Medea's long tunic is formed by a panel of cloth floating behind that passes under her right arm, crossing at the back, in the Getty drawing Medea's mantle passes diagonally over only one shoulder (her right), leaving her left arm and breast bare. A similar configuration can also be seen in his early *Massacre of the Innocents* painting in Ottawa, c. 1611. This costume was rare for classical representations of Medea; the so-called Ostia relief, likely located in or around Rome in Rubens's day, may be the only extant classical relief to represent Medea with this tunic configuration.[100] While it is possible that Rubens knew the Ostia relief, a more likely source for his tunic design may be located in a third-century Roman sarcophagus, formerly in the Villa Mattei (Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo),[101] that Rubens used as a model for his drawing of *Three Figures from a Roman Sarcophagus*, c. 1602–06 (Figure 3.4). In the Chicago drawing, Rubens closely followed the Villa Mattei designs in his rendering of an elderly male poet and accompanying female figure, including their tunic configurations.[102] While Rubens likely never personally knew the Roman Senator Cyriacus Mattei (1545–1614), he showed an unusual interest in his well-known collection.[103]

Compelling correspondences between the Chicago sheet and the Getty sheet suggest, by extension, the relevance of the Villa Mattei sarcophagus that inspired *Three Figures from a Roman Sarcophagus* for the Getty sheet too. Not only do the figures on the Chicago drawing and in the Villa Mattei relief wear diagonally draped mantles akin

to that found in the Getty drawing, but there is also a remarkably close resemblance between the active bodily position of the Getty Medea at left and that of the old male poet, especially as pictured in the Chicago sheet. If the Villa Mattei sarcophagus provided the source of Medea's classical garment in the Getty sheet, it may well be that the Getty Medea's mantle design represents a graphic conflation of the more concealing "female" configuration covering the upper torso of the elderly woman in the Chicago drawing and the more revealing "male" arrangement worn by the old poet. Evidencing a deft mixture of models and inspirations, such examples of emulation suggest that what might at first glance seem to be an "easy" classical reference – here, Medea's classical tunic – often served in Rubens's oeuvre as the locus for more recondite allusions highlighting the artist's knowledge of particularly rare, classical sources in ways that would have challenged even his most learned friends.

The central motif of the hanging child in the Getty sheet represents another such rich example of classical emulation that contributes to the drawing's layered meanings. Here, the model – this representing the dying children of Niobe that Rubens studied on a low-relief Roman sarcophagus – was likely selected to introduce more subtle content into the sheet. The Villa Borghese version, now in the National Archaeological Museum in Venice (Figure 3.10), is the most likely source; Rubens is known to have made multiple trips to the Villa Borghese around 1607–08.[104] Inspired by Ovid's tale (*Met.*, 6:146–312), the narrative cycle depicting the dying Niobids includes two figures that bear direct relevance for the Getty dead children: the prominent figure of a young, male nude with lengthy Antonine proportions, whose left arm dangles from a horse's bridle near the center of the composition; and a second figure, located to the left of the horse, depicting a lithe nude whose arm and head drop lifelessly in parallel.[105] A brief comparison of the two classical models with the two most prominent "suspended" children on the Getty sheet (located at far left and center), demonstrates that Rubens conflated and transformed aspects of the classical figures – first mentally and then graphically – to new expressive effect. With reinvented bodies that are twisted, regrafted, and then placed in new contexts, the slightly varied Getty figures appear as moments of formal point and counterpoint that recall the figures' specific classical models, as well as their departures from them.



Figure 3.10 *The Death of Niobe's Children*, Roman Sarcophagus relief, 2nd c. CE, marble. Venice, National Archaeological Museum (inv. 24). © Archivio fotografico del Polo Museale del Veneto, su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo; riproduzione vietata.



Figure 3.11 Peter Paul Rubens, *Three Sketches for Medea and Her Children* (detail), c. 1600–04. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (inv. 84.GA.959, verso). Credit: Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

This Niobid relief bore specific conceptual relevance for Rubens's greater subject. As in the Medea myth, Niobe's children are mercilessly murdered in large part due to female arrogance. According to the Ovidian account, Apollo and Diana massacre Niobe's seven sons and seven daughters in retribution for Niobe's egotism in highlighting her own prodigious fertility at the expense of the goddess Leto.[106] In his youthful hanging infants, Rubens revived the theme of the helpless demise of innocents by a vain, murderous mother through the adaptation of key bodily markers that gave the Villa Borghese figures their thematic coherence. These include the figures'

child-like proportions (youth), nudity (innocence), the outstretched arm by which the figure hangs (helplessness and carelessness), and the parallel configuration of the figure's dropping head and arm (lifelessness). As Walter Pigman observed of such emulatory moments, "the silent searching of the mind" allows for partial dissimulation in which the relation between image and model is not completely obliterated, even as it is transformed.[107]

A closer look at the partial, central study in the Getty sheet (Figure 3.11) offers further opportunities to evaluate ways in which Rubens reinvented his classical model to newly expressive ends. When considered again in light of the Villa Borghese figures (Figure 3.10), it becomes clear that the artist spatially shifted the central child such that it more squarely faces the viewer. He also reversed the arm by which the child hangs, replacing the horse's bridle with Medea's disembodied arm, and altered the child's proportions to reflect those of a chubby infant rather than an adolescent. Ironically, the heightened figural naturalism with which Rubens conceived this child (especially relative to his low-relief marble model) may have been rooted in Rubens's early interest in updating esteemed classical models by enlivening them. In the central study, Rubens carefully applied softened shadows and internal contours to the child's body in ways that not only elaborated important bodily features such as the breast and stomach, but also evoked the weighty mass and smooth pliancy of an infant's body. At the same time, this figure also suggests the lengths to which Rubens would go to revive and update his classical sculptural models in drawing and painting along the lines expressed in his early Imitation treatise.[108] Why else the otherwise undue attention to the figure's individual bending toes and curly head of hair? Reflecting the artist's early, Quintilian-inspired concerns with rendering a living, breathing, human figure out of cold, dead materials, Rubens paradoxically enlivened even a dead child, providing a graphic demonstration of his superior, god-like capacity to resucitate inanimate matter.

The prominent location and facture of the central hanging figure also reinforce the drawing's *all'antica* style. Bracketed between the left and right groupings, the central figure functions as a visual anchor for the drawing's full-length figures and as a reminder that antique allusion and the themes of helplessness and cruel fate were likely central to Rubens's meanings. Isolated and reduced to a fragment, the hanging child reads much like a classical, Latin quotation set in a larger, vernacular text – a *mise-en-page* that would have conferred an appropriate seriousness of address, or *gravitas*, to the tragedy for erudite viewers. In *The Painting of the Ancients*, Franciscus Junius advocated the practice of incorporating antique literary references and allusions into works of art for the same reasons that humanist authors like him often quoted from antique sources: as a means of endowing the artist's subject with the gravity and nobility of classical sources, and testing the viewer's acumen.[109] Rubens evidently subscribed to this principle in both his drawing practice and in his own personal letters. Like Lipsius, he at times inserted Latin quotations and commonplaces into personal letters sent to humanist friends as a means of imparting the intellectual stature of an *all'antica* style to an otherwise informal medium.[110]

The classicizing approach in the drawing's central *mise-en-page* is further located in its sculptural style. Close study of ancient bas-relief sculpture as expressed in Renaissance drawings guided Rubens's practice in this instance, seen particularly in the way that the child's facture accords with contemporary notions of how to manipulate light and shade to effect the appearance of low-relief classical modeling.



Figure 3.12 Peter Paul Rubens, *Battle of Lapiths and Centaurs*, black chalk, grey wash, heightened with white, on grey paper, 240 × 346 mm. Credit: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (inv. V 7 recto PK). Loan Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen Foundation (Collection Koenigs). Photograph: Studio Buitenhof, The Hague.

In *The Painting of the Ancients*, Junius recommended using the white of the page to indicate areas of highest relief, surrounded by areas of deep hatching to indicate shadow, as a pictorial strategy for quoting from low-relief sculpture on antique sarcophagi.[111] Drawing in a time-honored Renaissance style that could well have inspired Junius's prescription, Rubens executed the central child in what might be termed a descriptive, archaeological mode he habitually adopted when copying classically inspired, low-relief models. As in his study after Michelangelo's marble relief, *The Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs* (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen; Figure 3.12), he applied strong contours, heavy attached shadows, and gentle, carefully positioned interior cross-hatching in the Getty sheet, which in the context of the light paper creates an illusion of figural solidity and heavy, dead weight. As a result, the figure appears graphically "hardened" and locked into space, much like the low-relief figures from its marble prototype. Keen connoisseurs would have appreciated this approach as aptly evincing the figure's corporeal presence and the figural density and immobility of classical sculpture too. Given this treatment, the child appears to advance subtly from the sheet toward the viewer, creating the illusion of low, three-dimensional sculpture that communicates human density, dead weight, and the chilly immobility of its marble referent.[112] In this context, even Rubens's *non-finito* (unfinished) mode of rendering the sculptural "fragment" in the central *mise-*

en-page may be meaningful. The roughly sketched, disembodied arm functions in much the same way that classical statuary, absent important limbs, was thought in some early modern humanist circles to pique the viewer's imagination. In a sense, the image functions like Blaise de Vignère's (1523–96) description of the allusive power of viewing the Belvedere Torso with its limbs off, albeit inversely.[113]

Looking beyond the central study, further moments of *all'antica* emulation enhance the classicizing meaning of the Getty composition. The two full-length Medea figures are also ultimately grounded in classical models, particularly the classical *maenad*: the murderous, female Dionysian figures responsible for killing Orpheus who were often depicted in a state of ecstatic frenzy in classical Greek designs and Roman copies; or alternatively, as female *bacchantes*, or personifications of music and graceful dance in later, Roman designs. Rubens almost certainly viewed the cruel *maenad* – as did Seneca himself in line 849 of *Medea* (*cruenta maenas*) – as a particularly apt model for Medea's depiction, especially at right (Figure 3.3): murderous intent, impotent rage (*impotenti furore*), and frenzied movement were at both figures' conceptual cores.[114] A classical *maenad* relief type, evidenced in numerous examples including in Roman copies after Greek originals in Paris (Louvre), Rome (the Villa Albani), and Turin (Archaeological Museum), even includes the iconography of the savage maenads engaged in a frenetic dance while carelessly holding their animal kills by the legs, in a manner similar to Medea's grasp of her dead children in the Getty sheet: as if like dead meat.[115]

While classical models of the *maenad* were readily available in early seventeenth-century Rome, Rubens's primary model in this regard could also have been a sixteenth-century Cavalieri design which inspired his own early line drawing of a *maenad*, that appears at bottom right in Jombert's *La Théorie de la Figure Humaine* (based on Rubens's original Pocketbook designs) in 1773 (Figure 3.13).[116] Rubens's design, once part of the destroyed Pocketbook that Rubens executed in Italy, shows the *maenad* as *bacchante* in her characteristic standing position, slowly swaying to the music she creates. Graphic correspondences between Rubens's Getty Medea at right and Rubens's *maenad* design in the Jombert edition also suggest he actively translated his graceful *bacchante* design into a murderous, frenzied *maenad* when drawing Medea. Specifically, Medea's standing, twisting pose is reminiscent of the *bacchante's*, as are the long, arabesque lines comprising her lower body which, since antiquity, signified her garment, her underlying form, and the movement of her dance. Contrary to the gently sweeping S-curves of the *bacchante*'s gown that captured the grace and slow rhythm of her dance, in the Getty sheet, Rubens drew Medea with quickly scratched, more angular contours, underscoring her desperate haste. After all, following rules of decorum, Medea's frenzied flight could never rightly be represented as a graceful, elegant affair. This unusually complex emulative approach suggests how the form and meanings of the classical model might still be recalled in a new context, while simultaneously helping to generate fresh, original meanings through contextually sensitive arrangements (*dispositio*) of graphic syntax – what Philip Rawson once called the "graphic units of sense" that help reveal a draftsman's graphic style, mode of visual typing, and ultimately the artist's own "visual ontology."[117] Rawson specifically pointed to Rubens as an exemplary draftsman who exploited such "graphic units of sense," which for the artist may well have had their roots in Erasmian grammatical approaches to meaning generation through well-disposed *syntagmes*, or Lorenzo Valla's ideas surrounding modes of signification.[118]

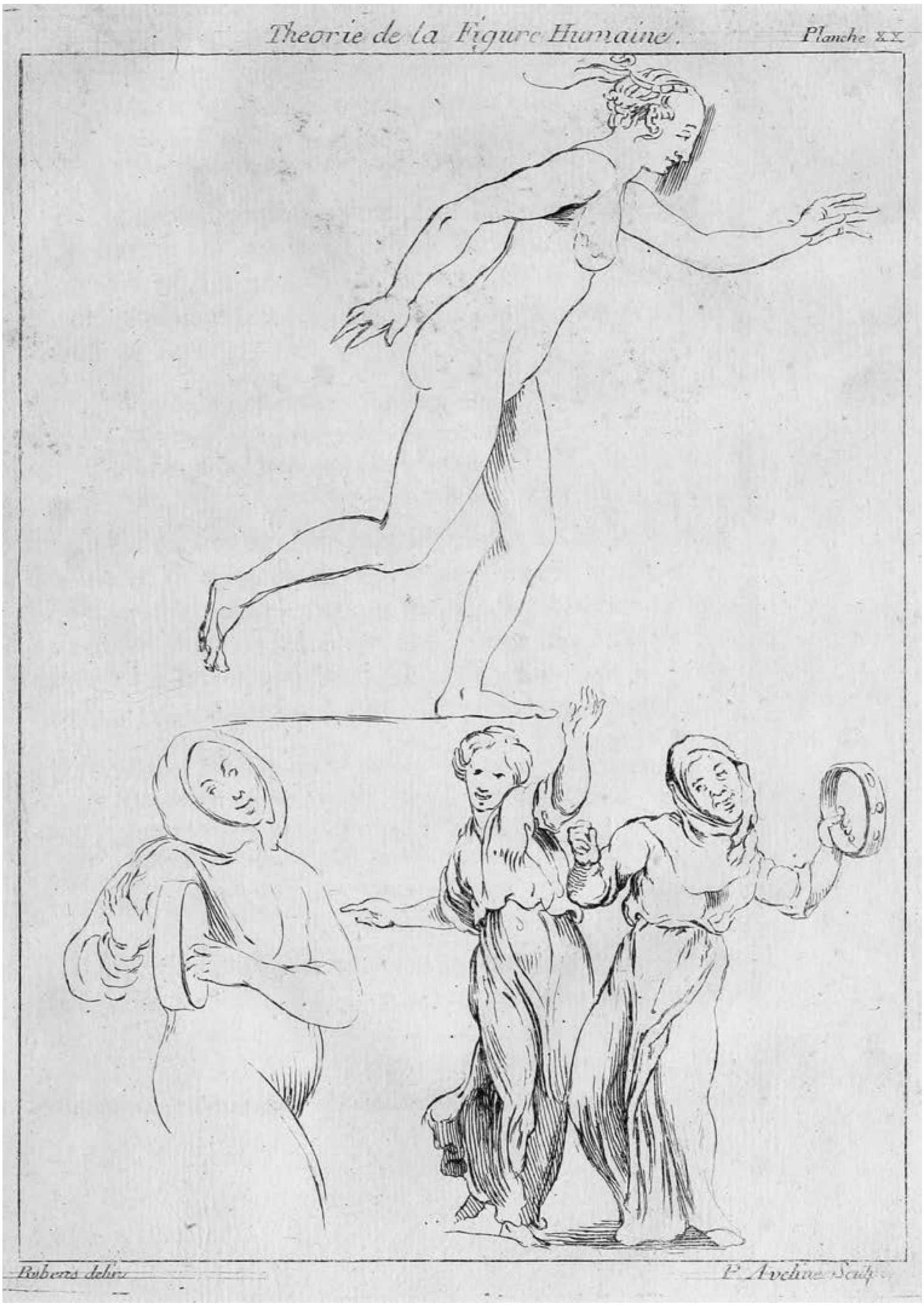


Figure 3.13 Peter Paul Rubens, *Study of a Dancing Maenad*, engraved by Pierre Aveline, in Rubens/Jombert, *La Théorie de la Figure Humaine* (Paris, 1773), pl. XX (84-B21157). Credit: Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

The second-century Roman Medea sarcophagus (Plate 19) that Rubens studied and emulated in his earlier, Rotterdam Medea sheet while in Mantua or Rome, also provided Rubens an important source of inspiration for the Getty drawing. What is surprising though is that Rubens did not choose to emulate the low-relief Medea figure in this case, but rather the central, running female figure of Creusa who takes center stage in the sarcophagus, fleeing on foot. Notably, the Creusa iconography on sarcophagi was seen as particularly appropropriate for wronged women, such as those who were murdered, in Roman antiquity.[119] In a strikingly original moment of emulation, Rubens translated the wronged, "running" Creusa in the sarcophagus relief into his fleeing Medea at right, flying hair and all. The choice of Creusa as model would have been particularly memorable given that in Seneca's version, as well as Rubens's own inscription, her burning by Medea's supernatural hand was the first, irreversible action inspired by Medea's extreme jealousy. It also provided a primary impetus for Medea's own flight. The rhetorical effect of this striking inversion is that it allowed Rubens to further emphasize Medea's humanity, as well as her own perceived status as a wronged woman injured by Jason's infidelity. In effect, it allowed Rubens to transform the character of Medea into a flawed and pitiable human, ironically by drawing to mind Creusa's wrongful death by Medea's supernatural hand. This type of judicious and meaning-laden moment of emulation might have prompted humanists to discuss its meaning in Rubens's day, much as Peiresc and Aleandro discussed the allegorical meaning of the Gualdo Medea, even as it also contributed to the sheet's *all'antica*, Roman character.

The drawing's serialized narrative structure may also have been loosely inspired by Roman sarcophagi reliefs. While the drawing eschews the episodic and multi-figural narratives of classical relief cycles, the Getty figures' serialized movement across the page may still have been inspired by classical bas-reliefs, such as those in which a number of individual, dancing nymphs appear to move rhythmically in one direction along the same implied ground line across a barren horizontal field.[120] The Medea sarcophagus may also have been in play here, though in a more subtle way. Exemplary of classical "departure" scenes that Rubens knew and appreciated early in his career,[121] the Medea relief depicts the story of Creusa's plight and Medea's magical escape in a series of individual, chronologically arranged, visual "episodes" reading from left to right. The drawing reinvents the classical departure scene, structured insistently around figural groupings that also move successively, in one direction, across an otherwise blank, horizontal field. In keeping with the classical impulse to condense a narrative to its most important scenes, Rubens distilled the pictorial drama to the fewest possible components to communicate his idea with clarity and force.

The most memorable, and latent, point of narrative correspondence between the Getty sheet and the Medea version now in the Museo Nazionale Romano, however, is found in the two "closing" representations of the central protagonist, located at far left in the drawing, and at far right in the relief (Figure 3.2 and Plate 19). Like its classical counterpart, Rubens's Medea at left provides the figural punctuation that marks the freezing of time and narrative progression; it is a visually powerful, graphic point of finality – the figural period – to the narrative sequence. With their faces similarly turned boldly towards the spectator, their mouths open, and their hair falling wildly on their shoulders, these "closing" figures possess what one author called the "supernatural, affective force of an archaic Gorgon."[122] Ultimately, this is a drawing

that, like Rubens himself, was steeped in a deep love of antiquity, especially ancient Rome, and that demanded something back from erudite viewers who were clearly meant to savor it. Favoring humanists with an archaeological bent for excavating its classically inspired models and meanings, it generously returned the investment.

An Early Modern Language of Pathos: Medea as a New *Exemplum Doloris*

The drawing's *gravitas*, befitting classical tragedy, is heightened by Rubens drawing in a melancholic "language of pathos" that while inspired by Renaissance models, was largely of his own making.[123] Like other drawings in Rubens's early Senecan grouping, the drawing's generalized treatment of the grieving female figure plays a role in his expression of pathos,[124] as does the fact that (in Held's words), "Rubens gave the scene an element of plain human anguish which [Medea] does not have in the classical models."[125] Encouraging typological connections with classically inspired images focusing on related themes of pathos, particularly Renaissance Massacre of the Innocents compositions, was also clearly part and parcel of this project. According to P.J. Mariette, Rubens owned a large drawing of a "Massacre des Innocents d'une composition tout-à-fait pathetique,"[126] an indication that the subject was also thematically linked directly with the theme of pathos, at least by the early eighteenth century.

The Getty hanging children, this time informed by classically inspired, Italian Renaissance models, reinforce this content. While recalling the dying Niobids, the children's single, hanging arms are also likely grounded in Michelangelo's use of the motif in his compositions of the dead Christ.[127] In Michelangelo's early Vatican *Pietà*, for example, the hanging arm also expresses ideas of utter helplessness and bodily sacrifice. Rubens incorporated this motif into other compositions, including in his 1609 painting of the emasculated Samson in the Antwerp *Samson and Delilah* (London, National Gallery; Figure 4.10) and more poignantly, in his figure of the sacrificed Christ in the Antwerp *Deposition*, c. 1612–14 (Antwerp, Onze Lieve Vrouwkerk; Plate 23) in which Christ's lithe body recalls both a dying Niobid and the Medea hanging child at center. Notably close correspondences between the Getty hanging child at center and Christ's body in the later Antwerp *Deposition* – seen in Christ's bent leg, the grasp of his arm, and especially the lines of his neck and shoulder and angle of his head – make it likely that Rubens kept the Getty figures (and their meanings) in sight or in mind when conceiving his altarpiece back in Antwerp some years later.

The artist's emulation of another composition – this time, one of three of the Raphaelesque *Scuola Nuova* tapestry designs now attributed to Raphael's pupil Tommaso Vincidor (1493–1536) illustrating the Massacre of the Innocents for the Vatican (Plate 24) – adds further nuance to his maternally inspired theme of human pathos in the drawing. Rubens would almost certainly have known the design through tapestries produced for the Vatican (under the direction of Vincidor) by the Flemish Romanist, Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502–1550), in his Brussels workshop around 1524–31,[128] or possibly through tapestry fragments and engravings brought to the Low Countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[129] Whatever Rubens's direct source, a comparison of the Getty drawing with one of the *Scuola Nuova* tapestries demonstrates that he looked to Vincidor's Raphael-inspired design for various details that would have added further layers to his theme of pathos. Certain

formal borrowings would have first signaled the tapestry model, especially the highly modeled, segmented bodies of the children, down to the articulated torso regions and the widely spaced, rounded toes added later to the central child's left foot. Furthermore, the massive treatment of Medea's left arm and shoulder in the figural grouping at left (Figure 3.2), sharing the same sense for unbroken contours, suggests the strength of her musculature in a way similar to the Raphaelesque figures in the *Massacre* composition. The draftsman's debt to the tapestry design also partially resides in the manner in which Rubens represented Medea and her children mouths agape. Medea's hair, especially witnessed in the Rubens figure at right (Figure 3.3), also similarly flies in horizontal motion in gently curved, Raphaelesque streaks reminiscent of the grieving mothers in the Vatican *Massacre* tapestry (Figure 3.14). In Rubens's Berlin Sketchbook sheet of *Drawings after Raphael and Holbein* (Plate 13), the figure copied after Raphael at lower right exhibits a similar treatment of the hair, which Raphael likely derived from antique sarcophagi. Unlike Medea's more coiffed, Alexandrian hair style in the Boijmans sheet – a fashion, in Held's words, that was a "hallmark" of Rubens's early works inspired by classical models – the serpentine hair in the Getty figure at right exhibits the wildness more appropriate to the hot and combustible fury associated with Medea's divine nature, and the *furia* that has been associated with both madness (the enemy of right reason), and fertile, artistic creativity inspired by the female muse in Raphael's oeuvre.[130]

Rubens's figural grouping at left in the Getty sheet (Figure 3.2) most tellingly invokes Raphael's inspiration, though. Looking closely at Medea's oversized left hand with which she clutches her child, we see that her small, fifth finger is extended and disengaged from the child's arm, while her other fingers curl around it. While this

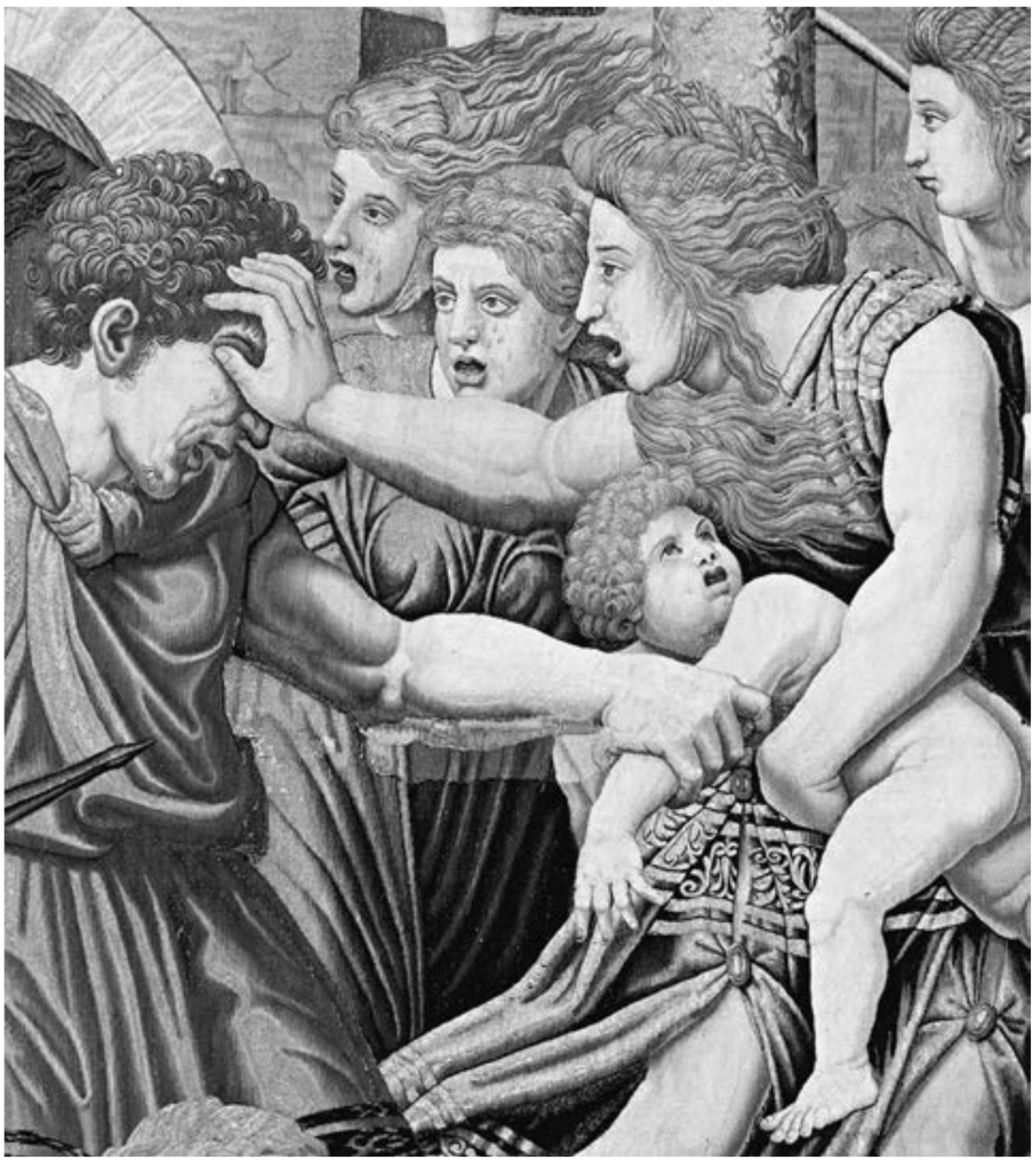


Figure 3.14
School of Raphael, *Massacre of the Innocents* (detail), c. 1524–31, tapestry. Gallery of the Tapestries, Vatican Museums, Vatican State. Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY.

feature might be dismissed as the result of graphic habit or chance, another look at the design in the Vatican tapestry (Figure 3.14) shows that the detail of the extended fifth finger was not Rubens's invention, but either Raphael's or his pupil's. In the tapestry *Massacre*, the unrelenting strength and tension of the murderous soldier is expressed through his tight grasp, the effect of which is heightened through the figure's disengaged fifth finger, and the exaggerated musculature of his arm. In the Getty drawing, Rubens seems to have emulated the soldier's grasp by grafting it onto Medea's own muscular arm at left (Figure 3.2), thereby translating the idea of physical power and psychological frenzy associated with Raphael's murderous soldier onto an emotionally wrought mother who killed her own children. This meaning is most pronounced in the central figure, which further suggests that Rubens remained concerned with translating the "narrative moment" of the soldier's grasp throughout the execution of the drawing, even as he likely emulated his own figure at left.[131] In the central, abbreviated figure, Rubens graphically rotated Medea's hand such that the emphasis no longer rested on the disengaged finger, but on the area between the thumb and forefinger: the part of the hand that most reveals the action and force of Medea's grasp. Through reinforcements to her hand's more angular contours to make it appear stronger – even claw-like – Medea's hand appears to clutch her offspring's arm as if in a vise. While retaining little vestige of the Raphael-inspired design, the hand recalls the firm hold of another of Rubens's mythological maternal figures, Thetis, who with her own claw-like grasp, protectively dipped her son Achilles in the river Styx to shield him from worldly danger in one of the artist's own oil sketches, c. 1630–35 (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen; Plate 25).[132] By transforming and disguising this Raphaelesque motif, the artist contributed to a new identity for Medea, focusing on her strong emotional impulses and her willful refusal to part with her progeny.

The dead children also *stylistically* embody the themes of pathos and an upset natural order. If we revisit, for example, the difference in facture between the representations of the two children held in Medea's hands at left (Figure 3.2), we see that she holds a rather idealized figure in her left hand, suggesting innocence and grace. In her right hand, however, Medea clutches a child marked by an aggressive and inconsistent application of pen and ink that manifests itself in a contorted figure, which appears to extend into the viewer's space. Marked by arms and shoulders twisted in ways that defy anatomical possibility and a foreshortened torso that seems to emerge directly from the woman's right arm, the figure resembles the types of twisted, splayed figures, as in Rubens's oil sketch of the *Falling Icarus*, 1636 (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts) or his earlier *Fall of the Damned* painting, c. 1620 (Munich, Alte Pinakothek), that he invoked to express damning vice or a deleterious loss of control. Furthermore, in the figural grouping at far left, Rubens included strong, shared contours between mother and child, which make the infant appear as Medea's literal appendage: her figurative "right arm." The deep, insistent contour Rubens redrew multiple times to form the child's left leg, inseparably follows the line of Medea's right arm, even as the child's left leg is mirrored in the lines of Medea's folded drapery. Rubens almost certainly borrowed the technique of shared, figural contours from Leonardo, who used them in works such as his *Cartoon of the Virgin and Child with Saint Anne and John the Baptist*, c. 1500 (London, National Gallery; Plate 26), to signify intimacy and familial connection between mother and child. As if inverting Leonardo's intent, however, Rubens drew the child such that it appears

as a deformed appendage emerging from Medea's body, wrought through a thick and nearly incomprehensible web of shading and dark, contour reinforcements in pen and ink. With familial implications intact, albeit perverted, the child's monstrous appearance, in which its arm twists unnaturally from its shoulder socket, likely signals Rubens's desire to acknowledge Medea's emotional connection with her young, and quite literally by extension, also her monstrosity.

By contrast, the child in Medea's right hand at far right (Figure 3.3) seems to slide from her grasp, indicating that themes of maternal desperation and a desire to hold tight to her dead progeny in flight also informed the drawing. Rubens illustrated this figure as literally and figuratively slipping from Medea's hands by executing a series of rapid-fire, vertical lines that capture both the figure's form and rapid, downward movement. Like the pen-and-ink hatches beneath Medea's arm, signifying shadow and movement, the vertical flourishes of this figure denote the child's falling motion and connote the most general aspects of its anatomy. To heighten the effect, Rubens underscored Medea's futile attempts to retain a connection to the child by adding dark pen-and-ink reinforcements to Medea's right thumb and fifth finger, as well as to the juncture of her right forearm and the child's slipping leg. These simple, but highly effective, graphic "pressure points" show Rubens at his graphic best: adept at expressing complex meanings quickly in a few well-disposed, laconic marks. The introduction of physical and emotional tension, expressed graphically as the child is shown both as integral to her at left and then, in short order at right, disengaged from her despite her struggle, thus may be added to the artist's field of deliberate, stylistically conscious acts communicating extreme distress and fear of loss. Here, an idea (Medea's desperation) is expressed graphically through an otherwise meaningless formal technique (dots of heavy ink). For Rubens, like Erasmus and Lipsius before him, the arrangement (*dispositio*) of his syntactical elements, in the context of judiciously emulated models, contributed to his meanings.

At this juncture, it is worth finally returning to the bold facial expressions that most signal Medea's despair. Like many humanist artists in the Albertian tradition before him, Rubens relied on hands and facial expressions as the primary physiognomic markers of grief and pain.[133] Medea's facial expressions recall time-honored figures of human despair, such as those found in Giotto,[134] that memorably capture the idea of classical human pathos and its attendant physical and psychological implications. Marked by impossibly upturned eyebrows and a downturned, open mouth, the source of Medea's expression – as the grieving mother in black in the Munich *Massacre of the Innocents* painting – was the well-known Hellenistic sculpture of the suffering Trojan priest, *Laocoön and His Two Sons* (Rome, Vatican; Plate 27).[135] Discovered in 1506 outside of Rome, the sculpture quickly entered the papal collection at the Vatican. By far one of the most popular sculptures in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Rome, the Laocoön provided the perfect *exemplum doloris* for artists due to its bodily contortions and facial expressions of suffering and torment. Rubens was intensely interested in the expressive capabilities of this subject during the first decade of the century and drew the subject at least 15 times, possibly directly from the sculpture then in the Vatican Belvedere or from plaster casts.[136] One such example, c. 1601, now resides in the collection of Milan's Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Figure 3.15). Rubens also likely possessed a copy of the Laocoön head, which was listed in an inventory of the estate of George Villiers (1592–1628), the first Duke of Buckingham, who bought Rubens's entire collection of antique sculptures in 1627.[137] A drawing

by Rubens's assistant Willem Panneels, found in the artist's private studio, or so-called Cantoor, indicates that Rubens emulated this famed classical model as the basis for creating his own expression study of a particularly strained sort of pathos. Based on Rubens's own design, Panneels's drawing focuses on the Laocoön's tormented expression from two separate, bird's-eye views (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst; Figure 3.16).[138] With a Flemish inscription referring to two head studies (*tronies*) of the Laocoön ("dees-twee tronien dat-sijn beijde de tronien-vanden lacon"), these drawings – and likely by extension, the Medea sheet – embody Rubens's interest in creating easily identifiable expression studies (*characterköpfen*) for illustrating heightened states of physical and emotional pain. The reoccurrence of this facial



Figure 3.15 Peter Paul Rubens, *Study of the Laocoön and His Sons*, c. 1601, black chalk with white heightening and bistre wash, 475 × 475 mm. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana (BA Shelfmark; F 249 inf. n. 4, p. 9). Credit: © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana – Milano/De Agostini Picture Library.



Figure 3.16 Willem Panneels (after Rubens), *Laocoön's Head in Two Positions*, c. 1628, black and red chalk and pen and ink, 177 × 276 mm. (inv. KKSgb4823). Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen. Photo: SMK Foto.

expression in other Rubens works focusing on great physical, emotional, and spiritual strain, including the *Raising of the Cross* in Antwerp (Plate 7), the *Crowning with Thorns*, 1602 (Grasse, Municipal Hospital), *Hercules and Omphale*, c. 1605 (Paris, Louvre), the *Martyrdom of St. Thomas*, c. 1638 (Prague, National Gallery), and the *Rape of Ganymede* (Madrid, Prado), suggests he flexibly applied this basic expressive formula in other equally apt contexts across his career.

Medea's expression (especially at left) shares a typological correspondence with other examples in Rubens's oeuvre that express agony or extreme distress. Both the apostle on the Getty sheet's obverse (Figure 3.1) and the suffering Christ in Georg Petel's exquisite ivory *Crucifix*, c. 1628 (designed and owned by Rubens),[139] have nearly identical demeanors expressing acute emotional and physical suffering in biblical (as opposed to mythological) contexts. A seventeenth-century plaster by an anonymous sculptor in Rubens's personal collection (Antwerp, Rubenshuis), however, introduces the possibility that Rubens associated this expression of pathos with particularly Senecan, female subjects having a maternal subtext. Likely a representation of Niobe (Antwerp, Rubenshuis),[140] the fragment expresses the classical figure's grief at the loss of her (absent) children in similar – although more subdued – facial terms. The graphic prominence and exaggeration of Medea's expression, especially at left, secure these meanings. Merging Michelangelo's lack of concern for bodily proportions with Leonardo's and Raphael's interest in facial expressions as markers of character and the passions, Rubens drew Medea's head proportionately larger than the rest of her body and positioned it such that it dominates the sheet's upper register. Rotating her body in to a nearly three-quarter stance, Rubens turned her face to the

viewer, set parallel to the picture plane. In this study, the primary, expressive features of the face – namely the eyes, mouth, and eyebrows – appear wholly legible. Clearly, Rubens was keenly aware of the capacity of facial expressions to draw and fix viewer attention, and of their capacity to heighten the affective and rhetorical content of his compositions.[141]

Early in his career, Rubens seems to have been particularly interested in the use of facial expressions and gestures as pictorial indices of momentary internal states. Ulrich Heinen and others have compellingly argued for Rubens's interest in the passions in this period, as expressed through facial expressions, gestures, and bodily comportment, often in a narrative context.[142] In the humanist tradition of Giotto and Alberti, facial expressions and hand gestures were considered key physical manifestations of the *affetti* (or passions) and character, and by extension, important signals of the narrative content of humanist *istoria*.[143] In the Cartesian tradition, faces, hands, and muscles were singled out as particularly significant conduits for so-called *mouvements* of the soul.[144]

Raphael's and Leonardo's expression studies as markers of the human passions were of particular interest to Rubens during his time in Rome. Drawing on Leonardo's observations on facial expressions in his earlier notebooks, Rubens explored the passions, or movements, of the soul in his early, theoretically minded Pocketbook. Bellori and De Piles both referred to these notes as Rubens's sustained exploration of gestures, facial expressions, and their corresponding emotional states, inspired by classical models.[145] In his *Dissertation*, De Piles observed that Rubens's Pocketbook contained "a very unusual inquiry into the principal passions of the soul and actions based on descriptions taken from the [ancient] poets" similarly illustrated through demonstrations in pen and ink (*démonstrations a la plume*).[146] A number of Rubens's drawings have been connected with his interest in expression studies from this period, including the study in Berlin after Raphael and Holbein (Plate 13) featuring expressions of the passions, achieved largely through facial expression and hand gestures.[147] In the Getty Medea, Rubens in all likelihood also followed Leonardo's lead in uniting expressive facial "types" and momentary emotional states. The studies of apostles on the Getty sheet's obverse similarly focus on distinctions in facial expressions to express different reactions of the apostles to Jesus's betrayal. Rubens may even have paid special tribute to Leonardo's interest in expressions in his *Three Groups of Apostles in a Last Supper* (Figure 3.1), where one of the male figures at upper right – likely depicting Judas – mirrors the Getty Medea's troubled, melancholic expression.

Later, seventeenth-century drawings by the French royal designer and painter Charles Le Brun (1619–1690), further provide evidence that Medea's (and perhaps, by extension Judas's?) expression in the Getty sheet may have communicated a more specific, complex type of pain. In a number of highly influential drawings that were in part grounded in Rubens's lost Pocketbook drawings, Le Brun advanced the Cartesian principle that specific facial expressions, manifested through particular actions of the eyes and mouth, serve as trustworthy indices to a subject's interior (psychological) and exterior (physical) state. In his designs for the *Conférence de M. Le Brun sur l'expression générale et particulière* (Paris, 1698), Le Brun offered graphic facial equivalents for six primary movements of the soul, including graphic codifications for hatred and desire (Paris, Louvre) – both emotions associated with Medea in classical and Renaissance sources. Yet, a quick comparison of the Getty Medea with Le Brun's expression studies suggests that Rubens had sorrow or pain (Paris, Louvre; Figure 3.17) more in mind for his Medea than hatred or desire. As



Figure 3.17 Charles Le Brun, *Expression Studies for Pain* (*La Douleur de l'esprit*), black chalk on yellowed white paper, 236 × 184 mm. Credit: Paris, Musée du Louvre (inv. 28321 f. 26 recto). Photo: Michèle Bellot © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.

in Le Brun's design for sadness, Medea's eyebrow dips in the middle before turning up at the forehead; her mouth also similarly turns downward at the corners.[148] In the Medea at left (Figure 3.2), Rubens further accentuated the lift in her eyebrow by later adding the deep, triangular shadow, produced with a heavily loaded pen.

However, Rubens's representation of Medea's sorrow derived from a desire to express an even more specific, complex, type of physical and emotional pain captured in Le Brun's characterization of composite emotions (*mouvements composés*).[149] One of Le Brun's composite studies suggests that Rubens intended to depict his Medea not only as sorrowful, but also as physically and mentally *suffering*, much like the figures in his Laocoön model. Le Brun's graphic characterization of the sharp pain of body and mind (*douleur aiguë du corps et desprit*; Plate 28), or a less extreme and less violent form of "mental and bodily pain" modeled on the son at right in the Laocoön group, highlights the nature and importance of this more complex psycho-physical meaning. In Le Brun's characterization, *douleur aiguë* was considered a composite movement of internal sorrow (or restlessness of the brain and depression of the heart), compounded by a physical dimension expressing pain, fear, or flight.[150] As Jennifer Montagu notes, Le Brun scribbled out the word *corporelle* in favor of *du corps et desprit* on the sheet, which takes into account Le Brun's Cartesian idea that external, physical pain reflects a parallel, interior state of the soul. According to Le Brun, facial features would appear relatively more exaggerated and troubled according to the violence of the pain.

The relevance for the Getty sheet resides in the graphic details: the expression on the Getty figure at left bears an uncanny resemblance to Le Brun's model, especially in terms of her upturned eyes and tilted head. In the more abstracted, phantom figure at right (Figure 3.3), Rubens further accentuated these elements of physical and bodily pain by representing Medea's mouth as nearly square and widely opened, as later expressed by Le Brun in his characterization of his composite emotion.[151] Rubens heightened this effect by executing the eyebrows in one linear movement; starting low, dipping above the pupil and then rising at the forehead, with two quick dots of the pen, signifying tension above Medea's eyes in what was then seen as the key area of the pineal gland, just as Le Brun expressed in his later illustration. (The correspondences are so close that one wonders whether Rubens's Medea, in some form, informed Le Brun's own characterization.)

Thus, we come again full circle to the themes of despair and physical flight for the Getty Medea, though this time, flight takes on a particularly impassioned, *emotional* charge. The action becomes the physical reflex of the sorrowful soul fleeing not only from a burning Creusa and a pursuing Jason, but also from her own torment. Subject to an impassioned flight of emotional and physical fury, she represents the antithesis of Neostoic constancy and reason in body and soul. By extension, she would have personified a warning of the consequences of the passions in Neostoic circles, even as her humanizing sorrow and pain signals a rhetorical intent to elicit empathy in early modern viewers. As such, the drawing stands as a complicated graphic call to moral judgment, outrage, *and* human empathy – the latter perhaps elicited to make his design more memorable or affective: that is, to emotionally *reel viewers in*, even unstudied viewers who might view paintings, such as Rubens's late *Massacre of the Innocents*, for which the dramatic motif would later provide conceptual substance. In sum and effect, the Getty Medea stands as a more affective, modern version of the classical *exemplum doloris*, grounded in Rubens's moralizing desire to warn of the dangers of unchecked passions, destined for a new generation

of viewers who valued both the expression of renewed Senecan values, including Neostoic constancy, and the original, updating of the classical Roman past in both word and image.

The Getty Medea as a Modern Senecan "Great Soul"

Having demonstrated the Getty drawing's formal and imitative complexity and Senecan narrative inspiration, we now come full circle to examine how updated Senecan characterizations of Medea stand at the drawing's conceptual heart. In keeping with other mythological drawings from Rubens's Roman period, the drawing finds its literary inspirations in tragedies, some like *Medea* written by (or historically associated with) Seneca, that feature single, often solitary, female "great souls" – including Medea, Phaedra, Thisbe, Dido, and Niobe – fated to experience great emotional and physical suffering. Such *grandes âmes* were presented in Rubens's drawings, as in early modern Latin-inspired theater, as pitiable protagonists whose excessive love – the "Senecan love furor" – drove them to unthinkable deeds or torment. Rubens treated this theme not only in the Getty sheet, but in his earlier Senecan grouping, including the Rotterdam *Flight of Medea*, *The Suicide of Dido* (or *Thisbe*?) in Paris (Plate 29), the *Suicide of Dido* at Bowdoin College, and the *Study of Niobe* in Moscow. The Neostoic emphasis on the psychology and reflexive actions of the individual inconstant woman, witnessed in Medea's facial expression and associated flight, represents one of the Getty drawing's most important Senecan-inspired artistic contributions. Further, it pictorially reflects a new emphasis on melancholy and other pathologies of the soul in the early seventeenth century, as well as an emerging consciousness of identity and the self in the early modern period.[152]

The psychological basis of tragedies featuring the *grandes âmes* in large part accounts for the renewed popularity of Seneca's tragedies (particularly *Medea*) in northern Europe in early seventeenth-century humanist circles.[153] According to Harry Barnwell, the invention of the psychological tragedy, particularly those by French Attic-inspired authors influenced by Lipsius and Montaigne, was one of the primary contributions of early seventeenth-century literature, constituting a particular period concern to which we might now add the visual arts as well.[154] Early modern French theater provides a singularly useful point of comparison here, given Lipsius's strong influence on French literary circles, especially in Attic-inspired circles staging Senecan-style tragedies emphasizing the passions. New translations by French dramatists including Corneille, Racine, and La Pérouse featured a range of tragic characters, including Medea, Niobe, Iphigenia, Thisbe, and Phaedra, who were no longer presented as historical personages, but as embodiments of one or more passions leading to the protagonist's downfall, meant to effect a response, especially pity, in the spectator.[155]

This brings us back to Seneca's *Medea*, in which the Latin Stoic evoked the theme of the marginalized soul whose excessive love leads to estrangement and sadness, an idea he also addressed in his *Letters to Lucilius* in his evocation of the tormented soul.[156] Reflected in later Neostoic concerns, two of Seneca's primary themes were melancholy and the suffering resulting from Medea's hysterical, self-destructive behavior. In Lipsius's view, these upending characteristics were the enemies of right reason, constancy, and temperance. Following Seneca's version, in which Medea was presented as having committed her crimes out of madness, love, pain, and anger,

contemporary playwrights inspired by Lipsius and Montaigne characterized the *grande âme* as possessing a contradictory nature, which leads to her downfall and subsequent isolation. While indulging the sixteenth-century fascination with "dark love" (*amour noir*), a concept that stressed the Senecan *grande âme*'s appetite for sorcery and folly, certain early modern French playwrights, for example, simultaneously presented her as an example of pitiful, even potentially *admirable* pathology, and as a demi-human who, blessed by cruel love, is driven to murder.[157] Irrationality looms large as a reason for the terrible actions of these larger-than-life figures, as does their susceptibility to melancholy. According to Seneca, Medea's crimes are committed not only out of madness, but also out of love ("et nullum scelus irata feci: saeuit infelix amor"), as well as out of pain with anger ("impetus et furor"); that is, as a direct – and *human* (albeit weak and "feminized") – response to Jason's infidelity. Verbal abstractions dominated Stoic preferences for expressing Medea's pain (*dolor*, v. 49) and *furore* (v. 52), and in Medea's most pathetic moment, Seneca speaks of her *animus*.[158] The tragedy inherent in Seneca's account was that a devoted wife and mother could love so much that she was willing to kill those closest to her, dooming herself in the process. Given her extreme, almost "admirable" love of Jason and her children, and the pathological nature of her filicidal response, Medea as jilted wife and murderous mother dooms herself – as do the other female "great souls" – to a marginalized existence of never-ending pain and sorrow.[159] In many ways, it is a cautionary, yet somewhat sympathetic, tale meant to incite viewers to both horror and empathy through the presentation of a wild, emotionally driven character whose loss of reason and control ultimately lead to her pain and downfall.

Rubens's emphasis on Medea's unstable emotional constitution, her penchant for irrationality, and the tragic consequences that ensue in Seneca's play might thus be viewed as part and parcel of Rubens's engagement with the passions. It also signals broader Senecan-inspired concerns in humanist circles in the early modern period, especially in northern Europe, with exploring extreme pathologies and self-destructive psychological types, and using them as potent cautionary types. In northern humanist circles, the all-too-human tragedy of Medea seems to have enjoyed renewed popularity largely due to her status as a flawed psychological type. In Erasmus's edition of Seneca's tragedies (Paris, 1514), Medea was characterized as a tragic *personae descriptio*, or *prosopopoeia* (or type) in the broadest sense.[160] Other sixteenth-century northern writers, including Philip Melanchthon, characterized Medea as an exemplar of an extreme sort of psychologically grounded pathology. In *De Anima* (1540), Melanchthon compared Medea to Judas Iscariot hanging himself following the betrayal; the two similarly exemplify those so troubled in mind and heart that their judgments are impaired to the point of driving them to madness and impossibly cruel acts.[161] This association of Medea with Judas may in part account for the similarities in expression between Medea and the melancholic Judas figure on the sheet's obverse. Perhaps Rubens was exploring related ideas on the sheet's two sides that clearly go beyond simple expression studies after all.

In the early seventeenth century, an increasing number of writers, many of whom were influenced by Lipsius's Senecan interests, addressed in their works all forms of *malaise* of the soul characterized by moral and psychological suffering – especially melancholy. A so-called "melancholic mode," expressing a wider cultural and social angst, permeated the arts and literature, especially in northern Europe.[162] Seneca's *Medea* seems to have particularly ignited the imagination of early modern Attic

dramatists wishing to embody this "melancholic mode" by capitalizing on a popular dramatic situation, and then recrafting it to focus on the narrative's affective content. Corneille, Routrou, and La Pérouse, for example, generally focused on the psychological content of the tragedy in which Medea's behavior springs from internal passion: namely, the frenetic and irrational love triggered by Jason's infidelity.[163]

Certain early modern dramatists also focused on Medea's flight and solitary marginalization as exemplary of her physical and psychological self-estrangement, wrought by an underlying melancholy and willingness to self-destruct. In the Senecan tradition, Medea is often presented as if in total solitude, having only herself to trust.[164] Physical and psychological detachment was a hallmark of the *grandes âmes*, as was the metaphorical eternal circulation of their troubled souls.[165] Like other expressions of interior movements in the Cartesian tradition, deep-seated *malaise* and melancholy were often equated in seventeenth-century drama with external, physical manifestations – especially the characters' expressions, gestures, and actions. In this context, it is no wonder that Rubens placed so much emphasis on these features of his own graphic *grandes âmes*. The early modern Senecan preoccupation with *malaise* and melancholy thus allows us to understand why physical and emotional pain are so poignantly manifested in the Getty sheet's facial expressions and Medea's unflinching, direct address to the viewer. In short, Rubens offers a pained, self-conscious Medea – aware of, if not sorry for, her great crimes – who desperately pleads her case directly to Jason and the viewer, asking for empathy, even as she explodes (especially at far right) in a violent, emotional catharsis caused by her actions. She is at once a classical, Senecan Medea, and a new, early modern one.

The new emphasis on the Senecan great soul and her melancholic marginalization especially in humanist dramatic circles, further helps to account for other curious features of the Getty drawing, including the narrative and figural ambiguity which makes this Medea initially seem more like a mother of the Massacre of the Innocents than a classical murderess. In his Senecan-inspired version of *Medea*, Corneille similarly capitalized on the thematic overlap of popular dramatic situations and their affective capacity, comparing the physical torment suffered by the poisoned Creon and Creusa to the dying Hercules in Seneca's *Hercules Oetaeus*, in order to elicit a strong, empathetic reaction from his viewers.[166] Like Routrou and La Pérouse who, in their own Senecan-inspired versions of *Medea*, adopted similar strategies of thematic ambiguity or overlap to heighten emotional content, Rubens placed his own subject in the pictorial context of human suffering in order to amplify the work's affective response. Rubens also adopted this visual strategy in the Bayonne drawing (Musée Bonnat) in which the writhing, female figure derived from a Giulio Romano pose for the *Death of Procris*,[167] might be interpreted as a female martyr or other Senecan tragic figure (like Creusa) as much as Agrippina, particularly given her lack of recognizable attributes.[168] Indeed, Rubens's use of thematic "raw material" in his Senecan-inspired drawings – not to mention the ambiguity he engenders for his subjects (Thisbe or Dido? Medea or grieving mother of the Massacre?) – must be considered a conscious act geared towards highlighting important ideas and eliciting particular emotive responses grounded in Neostoic preoccupations. What greater pictorial challenge could Rubens (like Seneca or the later French dramatists) have set for himself than to laconically elicit a powerful and empathetic response for a subject that – quite unlike the mothers depicted in his Massacre of the Innocents compositions – is the least deserving of pity?

Medea's figural repetition and isolation in the drawing might be added to this growing list of intentionalizing features as well. In Seneca's *Medea*, repetitions in phrasing constitute a notable rhetorical strategy for highlighting what one author called the "declamatory" nature of the drama that is condensed in key moments into a strong, repetitive show of emotion, with "the frenzied Medea," according to Seneca, "rushing about, flushed, shouting, weeping."[169] New stagings of early modern French Senecan-inspired tragedies featuring self-destructive *grandes âmes*, further highlight Seneca's theme of exile and isolation and their own desire to transform their subjects into new, aesthetically coherent *beau sujets* of acutely affective dimensions. In these efforts, literary style was often manipulated to mimic or elicit themes of loneliness. In La Pérouse's first act of *Medea*, for example, a dragging, repetitive style was meant to emphasize the monotony and desolation of Medea's physical and spiritual exile. At another juncture, La Pérouse, in a manner reminiscent of Rubens's rough, improvisational treatment of Medea at right, alluded to her *fureur*, or mania, by writing at appropriate moments in a jerky and rapid style, marked by uncomfortable word orders, that one scholar described as "so appropriate for . . . [this] dangerous, fast-moving phenomenon."[170] Far from constituting "imaginative failures" or stylistic accidents, such early modern strategies represent carefully orchestrated, dramatic maneuvers to express a point, phenomenon, or characteristic in an apt, rhetorically potent manner.[171]

French classical dramatists also expressed Medea's estrangement and marginalization through other formal mechanisms, including her removal from familiar narrative circumstances.[172] Emphasizing Medea's "proud cries of the individual against the world,"[173] the conspicuous absence of setting or accompanying figures in the Getty sheet heightens the impression of Medea's physical and spiritual isolation. Given that Renaissance stage designs for tragedies (*scena tragica*) often included elaborate settings of classical buildings, monuments, and statuary, the sparseness of the drawing's surrounds may well have been noted for effecting a sense of Senecan isolation and extreme physicality through what one author called the "stripped" and "grudging scenography" of Seneca's play.[174] While Rubens often offered abbreviated settings in his figural drawings, he clearly also understood the affective impact an isolating approach might have in his studies of solitary, tragic figures, especially those inspired by Seneca. The *Suicide of Dido* (or *Thisbe?*) (Plate 29), *Iphigenia*, and the study after the *Antique Fisherman* all include this device. Unlike many of his contemporary figural studies, in which he graphically zoomed in on his figures and pushed them to the margins to create a sense of physical and emotional proximity with the viewer, in the Getty sheet he utilized little more than one-third of the paper support for his relatively small-scale, full-length figures, thus highlighting Medea's physical and emotional distance.[175] With only the most essential features depicted, as Jon Berry wrote of Seneca's *Medea*, "we have the spectacle of a will with little else to obscure it."[176]

The isolating effect in the Getty sheet is further emphasized by Rubens's choice to leave the right side of the sheet blank. This untouched space effectively leaves it to the viewer's imagination to fill in the narrative impetus for Medea's desperate flight: the horrific immolation of Creusa and Jason's pursuit, following the murder of her children. Given that Rubens rarely shied from overtly violent themes (unlike certain seventeenth-century French dramatists concerned with questions of decorum),[177] we must assume that other conscious intents, aside from codes of good taste, drove his decision to leave this area untouched. Perhaps like Racine who

sometimes moved acts of violence offstage to heighten the frightful pity for the tragic protagonist,[178] Rubens may have elected for a *tabula rasa* at right to elicit an imagined response dependent on a studied knowledge of the drawing's underlying literary source. Indeed, graphic absences, often thought of as meaningless, were frequently used in early modern northern drawing practice to rhetorical ends, in part to incite the imagination. Perhaps inspiring the northern seventeenth-century drawing tradition of using blank or abbreviated flourishes to imply the presence of a figure or supernatural force "off frame," such blank areas reinforce the focus that certain northern draftsmen, including Van Dyck and Rembrandt and his school, placed on the expressive use of blank paper and implied actors "off stage" as rhetorical devices prompting the viewer to fill in the implied, missing elements of the narrative.[179] For example, Rembrandt and his pupils particularly used blank, or abbreviated, graphic flourishes, to denote figural presence or a supernatural force.[180] Far from an "imaginative failure," Rubens's approach should thus be understood as a part of a larger rhetorical strategy for isolating the figure and prompting the viewer to reflect on the cause and consequences of Medea's distress and flight. Given that Rubens mentioned the burning Creusa not once, but twice, in his inscription, and even aptly added one notation in red chalk, it begs the question whether he also implicitly sought to elicit Seneca's overt preoccupation with Creusa's fiery consumption, and thus trigger the viewer's imagination to fill in the horrific missing details.

The drawing's rough style plays an expressive role in these meanings. Marked by unevenness in style (e.g., more and less finished drawing), form (e.g., smooth and rough figures), and rhythm (e.g., both slow and fast drawing), Rubens's Getty drawing betrays modal disjunctures that might have reminded contemporary humanists of the ways in which some early modern humanist composers newly conveyed swings of mood and meaning through stylistic change and contrast at the turn of the seventeenth century. In his Attic-inspired *Orfeo*, Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643) inventively changed keys and rhythms depending on shifting content.[181] Other musical humanists from the period such as Marin Mersenne (1588–1648) also at times changed mode or notation during the course of a work to suit changes in a work's content.[182] In early modern music, as in French Attic-inspired theater, such formal shifts were similarly often rapid and abrupt, and were thought to create the pleasure, interest, and overall effect of the work. In some circles, they were even believed to help restore the arts to the dignity they enjoyed in antiquity.[183] Erasmus, for one, described music as having an ethical and pedagogical dimension, based on its "kind," or mode. The goal, according to Erasmus, was "to affect the human soul" and by extension, society, in a positive (as opposed to corruptive) way.[184] Rubens enjoyed an unusually early, personal encounter with this revolution in style, especially in the musical and theatrical realms associated with the Gonzaga court in Mantua at the turn of the century. He may even have witnessed Monteverdi's first performance of *Orfeo* while attending the proxy marriage of Marie de' Medici to Henri IV in Florence in 1600.[185]

Given that in early modern humanist circles music and painting were thought of as parallel arts (and by extension, subject to analogous rhetorical modes of expression), Rubens's stylistic juxtapositions in his treatment of Medea – moving from relatively slower and more carefully reasoned drawing at left to faster and more open and spirited at right – might further be understood as representing a graphic dialectic in which distinctions of style corresponded to differences in symbolic form and

intended effect. Even Medea's seemingly manic and jerky movements, enhanced by Rubens's use of figural repetition and interest in varying and breaking the rhythm of her movement, may relate to new Attic-inspired strategies grounded in Quintilian focusing on the adjustment of rhythms for affective ends.[186] In Rubens's day, repetition itself was often understood in humanist musical terms as having affective powers depending upon its form and rhythm. In one musical model of the period, *musique mesurée à l'antiquité*, a repetitive, "homophonic, imitative style of choir" was thought to produce appropriately grave responses in its listeners.[187] In the literary realm, La Pérouse used affective choppy rhythms and uncomfortable word order in his Senecan tragedies for affective ends. In sum, the style of humanist drawing, like a humanist musical composition, held the power to signal the ethical character of the work, as well as that of its creator, through content *and* style.

Other drawings long traditionally associated with Rubens's Senecan grouping betray the artist's manipulation of graphic style for expressive ends. *Studies for the Suicide of Dido* (or *Thisbe*?) (Plate 29) – the drawing that in many ways bears the closest formal resemblance to the Getty sheet[188] – provides further evidence that Rubens explored a graphic language for the Senecan-inspired *grande âme* early in his career, and may have even passed along certain stylistic techniques as located in the Getty sheet to his one-time pupil Van Dyck, including rapid drawing, serialization, and evoking a sense of figural isolation by drawing slight figures alone on an otherwise barren sheet. In this vein, the Louvre drawing includes five separate studies, all torridly executed, of an isolated, tormented female figure falling on a sword in a circular format. As in the Medea sheet, the Louvre drawing excludes any conventional narrative context, depicting Thisbe falling onto the sword from various angles, as if in a graphic vacuum. Like the Medea in the Getty sheet, Thisbe is rendered in a furious, serialized display of pen-and-ink figural studies in which rapid speed of execution suggests the frenetic nature of her physical and internal movements. As in Lipsius's and Montaigne's use of the less-than-elegant, seemingly improvisational *style coupé*, rough, angular drawing that abruptly changes directions aptly supports the emotionally discordant message.

As in the Getty sheet, a generalized approach to Senecan pathos founded in pictorial ambiguity and thematic overlaps characterizes the Louvre sheet. Like the Medea drawing, in which its dual reading as a Massacre of the Innocents further clarifies its emotional content, the subject of the Louvre drawing seems to have been similarly left intentionally open to multiple narrative interpretations, thereby enabling a similar focus on a tragic, female subject, worthy of empathy, who also commits suicide due to excessive love and loss. Evers and Held considered the Louvre drawing an autograph Rubens drawing illustrating *Studies for the Suicide of Thisbe* based on the formal proximity of one of the figures to a Thisbe by the Tintoretto school, as well to the uncontested Rubens drawing at Bowdoin College inspired by Ovid's account of Thisbe pointing an iron sword under her breast and then thrusting herself upon it.[189] McGrath, however, later claimed that Rubens likely intended the Louvre drawing as *Studies for the Suicide of Dido*, given the presence of what she interpreted as a crown on the bottom-left figure, and a funeral pyre suggested by a series of parallel chalk hatches, at bottom right.[190]

The Louvre sheet also stylistically manifests Rubens's interest in finding a graphic equivalent for the eternal circulation of the souls of the Senecan *grandes âmes*. The circular disposition of the Dido/Thisbe figures acts as a powerful visual metaphor for



Figure 3.18 Otto van Veen, *The Ages of Man*, in *Quinti Horatii Flacci Emblemata, imaginibus . . . Illustrata* (Antwerp, 1607), p. 207. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Shelfmark: 1133495 Res/4 A.lat.a. 249. Permalink: http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10872025-9 BSB.

the successive eternity of torment suffered by pitiable, scorned women who self-destruct out of excessive love.[191] Throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages, the circle – a unity with no beginning and no end – proved one of the strongest metaphors for expressing eternity and the never-ending, circulating movement of incurable souls damned by their crimes.[192] Rubens would have been well acquainted with a range of these symbolic meanings for the circle through his wide reading of classical and classically inspired medieval writers, as well as through images produced in the Lowlands in his day. In an emblem from Otto van Veen's *Amorum Emblemata* (1608) depicting *The Ages of Man* (Figure 3.18), Rubens's one-time teacher depicted a fully coiled snake to express temporal circularity, in this case in terms of the cycle of life.[193] By expressing the frenetic motion of Thisbe falling on her sword in a counter-clockwise, circular succession of forms in the Louvre sheet, the Flemish draftsman not only graphically represented her physically destructive action, but also found a concrete, graphic metaphor for her eternal torment. Through this circular, serialized configuration, he heightened the drawing's emotional content by forcing the viewer to experience the images as successive stages of torment: a narrative sequence that, like Rubens's Medea's flight, never really ends. The Louvre figure thereby loses her specific identity and takes her rightful place – like Medea – as a generalized *exemplum doloris* of the tortured Senecan *grande âme* who warned contemporaries of the dangers of the passions and the eternal torment that would ensue by allowing them to reign freely.

Ultimately, however, Rubens perhaps most intended the Getty drawing as a form of private, humanist intellectual and visual delectation, meant to appeal to himself and his humanist friends in the Lipsian sphere. Recalling Horace's precept that art should both please and educate (*aut delectare aut prodesse est*), and Aristotle's claim that the aim of tragic *catharsis* was not only to offer moral examples (*exempla*), but also to please the audience, Rubens offered his Senecan-inspired type in a plain, yet emotively seductive, graphic package that would have especially appealed to contemporary humanists who valued *brevitas* and the new, meaning-laden approach to grammars of style. Constructed through a matrix of mentally digested moments of classical and classically inspired emulation, and varied drawing styles reflecting varied rhetorical content, this *all'improvviso*, independent drawing was ultimately designed *to please*.

It is worth considering for one last time the two primary figures of Medea in this light (Figures 3.2 and 3.3). Marked by an unevenness of style and rhythm – careful, closed, and more thoughtful drawing at left versus abstracted, improvisational, and spirited drawing at right – the stylistic dissimilarity of the two figures creates much of the pleasure, interest, and effect of the drawing.[194] Characterized by graphic contrast, the figures' varied stylistic approaches might be understood in terms of a formal dialectic in which stylistic distinctions corresponded to distinctions in symbolic form and intended effect. Here, Rubens stylistically captured aspects of Medea's complex Senecan-inspired nature side by side. Filled with self-realization of the consequences of her actions,[195] the Medea at left exhibits a relatively slow, more deliberative style of drawing than the figure at right. Here, the presence of graphic alterations, reinforcements, a slower and more steady approach to contours, and the emulation of esteemed models provide the graphic markers of the actively *thinking* artist. Relative to the Medea at right, this image appears as one of relative restraint and *habitude*. Not coincidentally, these were stylistic features most associated in Rubens's

day with reasoned and judicious drawing, good mnemonic recall, and a selective and restrained utilization of excellent models. In many ways, this graphic modality might stand as an apt metaphor for Medea's "demi-human" Senecan nature, pictorially manifested in her corporeal substance and ever-knowing, melancholic gaze.

By contrast, at right, Medea abstractly explodes in the frenzied Senecan "love furor": a pent-up energy and passion cathartically released in one furious piece of draftsmanship. In a quick, graphic flurry that brings to mind Lipsius's notions of *brevitas* as condensation of meaning through laconic form, and *simplicitas* as less spontaneity than the effect of spontaneity, Rubens's abstracted figure stylistically evokes her identity as the hot, spirited daughter of the Sun, bursting forth and psychologically unraveled by fate and misfortune. In this framework, her conceptualized, abstracted, "phantom" form stands as the distilled, graphic analogue for the verbal abstractions that dominated Stoic preferences for expressing Medea's spirit (*anima*), pain (*dolor*), and furor (*furore*).[196] As the Comte de Caylus wrote of such abstracted drawings, "The inquisitive eye and animated imagination are pleased and flattered to finish what often is only sketched." [197] In essence, the Getty figure at right represents an idea first originating in Rubens's mind put to the page, suggesting facility of thought and hand: a spirited incarnation of imagination and artistic fury taking flight. She represents the graphic incarnation of *animus* itself, the abstraction invoked by Seneca to describe Medea at her most pathetic, uncontrollable moment.[198] Even Rubens's repeated reference to fire in his red chalk inscription supports this reading. In Latin theater, fire had long been associated with Medea's inflammatory and uncontrollable nature, as well as the source of her ultimate purification.[199] Paradoxically, Rubens's impassioned drawing style thus ultimately highlights not only his Senecan Medea's passion, but also his own passion for drawing and classical study. Recalling William Sanderson's account of his visit to Rubens's studio, the drawing evinces the substance and unique workings of Rubens's "overcharged brain" expelled on paper in an instant with a liveliness of spirit that could certainly not be "contained within the Compass of ordinary practice."[200]

In the end, the facture of the Medea figure at right in the Getty sheet stands as an aptly drawn metaphor for Rubens's own impassioned musings, his striking graphic originality, his complex emulative approach, and his apparent absence of manual constraint. Like Lipsius's literary *all'improvviso* spectacles of eloquence, this hot and spirited figure becomes the graphic manifestation of the notions of irrationality, fear, and psychological flight – those Neostoic enemies of reason, constancy, and moderation – set in a style that would have been intellectually and visually pleasing to contemporaries, and perhaps above all, to Rubens himself. Similarly evidencing Lipsius's propensity for apparent spontaneity and simplicity, as well as a disdain for graphic rewriting, the Medea at right shows Rubens freely indulging in his own imagined ideas and the liberating practice of drawing, even as he transformed more reasoned musings into a laconic style that neither demanded, nor was in want of, correction. As in Lipsius's "brief style," Rubens ultimately prompted his viewer through stylistic means to meditate at length on his figure – and indeed, the drawing as a whole – with everything resting on the quality and multivalence of his graphic signs.

While Rubens's primary challenge in the drawing ultimately seems to have been how to represent an anguished, self-destructive, Senecan-inspired *grande âme* in a laconic, Roman style that would both teach and please, perhaps his primary success

lay in his construction of a graphic metaphor for those artistic values he most treasured in the early years of his career. These included *sprezzatura* drawing, appreciated as seemingly easy, spirited spectacles of eloquence; the judicious choice and use of forms (*judicio*), including suitable models of emulation (*aemulatio*); achieving the effect of Roman *gravitas* through stylistic means and classical allusions; and affecting the impression of ease (*simplicitas*) by quickly demonstrating exceptionally complex ideas in a rough and elliptical manner. Surprisingly spontaneous, yet highly diligent, the Medea drawing ranks as evidence that Rubens indeed sought to be that "Studious Artificer" of whom Franciscus Junius wrote with such admiration. Revelatory of the artist's deep engagement with Seneca and Lipsius, the dangers of the passions, and the pleasures of style and drawing, as well as a test of connoisseurs' ability to discern its sources and meanings, the drawing shows Rubens's concerted will to follow in Apelles's footsteps, demonstrating his own mettle in as few lines as possible. In this instance, his talents lay not only in his capacity to represent the theme of the Senecan melancholic *grande âme* in a manner that would have suited its modern Neostoic viewers, but also in the graphic revelation of his erudite eloquence in what might appear to modern viewers the most unlikely of places. In the end, as Rubens wrote to his friend Sustermans, this picture's success lay in its capacity to express his primary concepts and "remainders" clearly and forcefully for rarified viewers with a highly experienced eye, in a space in which words, now as then, are bound to fail.

Acknowledgment

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Notes

1 Rubens to Justus Sustermans, Antwerp, 12 March 1638; Magurn, *Letters*, no. 242.
2 *Three Sketches for Medea and Her Children* (v); Pen and brown ink; H. 296 mm (11 11/16 in.); W. 439 mm (17 1/4 in.); inv. 84.GA.959; inscribed "vel Medea respiciens Creusam ardentem et Jasonem velut Inseguens . . ." in brown ink by Rubens; faintly inscribed "Creusa arden[s?]" in red chalk by Rubens. *Provenance*: William, second Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth; by descent to the 11th Duke of Devonshire (sale, Christie's, London, July 3, 1984, lot 53). *Bibliography*: Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1959, no. 7 (recto and verso), pl. 7; and ibid., 1986, 73, no. 20; Burchard and d'Hulst, *Rubens Drawings*, no. 34; George Goldner (with Lee Hendrix), *European Drawings 1: Catalogue of the Collections*, 2 vols. (Malibu: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1988), 202, no. 90; Lusheck, "Rubens's Graphic Eclecticism," 127–85; J. Richard Judson, *Rubens* (Oakville, CT: David Brown Book Co., 2000), no. 3; Michael Jaffé, *The Devonshire Collection of Northern European Drawings* (Venice: Umberto Allemandi, 2002), no. 1147; and Logan, *The Drawings*, no. 8.
3 Logan recently dated the drawing to c. 1600–04; ibid. Held also dated the sheet to Rubens's earliest years in Italy, c. 1600–04, based on stylistic similarities to pen-and-ink drawings from the period, including *Christ Crowned with Thorns* (Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum). Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1959, no. 13, fig. 12; and *Selected Drawings*, 1986, 70 and 73. Others have dated it later to c. 1610–11. See, for example, Burchard and d'Hulst, *Rubens Drawings*, no. 34; and Goldner, *European Drawings*, no. 90. Following Monballieu, Goldner's dating was largely based on the erroneous belief that Rubens executed the *Studies for the Last Supper* sheet as a preparatory study for the never-realized Sint Winoksbergen commission. Ibid.; and A. Monballieu, "P.P. Rubens en het 'Nachtmael' voor St.-Winoksbergen (1611), een niet uitgeroerd schilderij van de

Meester," *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1965): 183–205. Logan once supported this later dating too. *The Drawings*, 80, under n. 5.

4 Inscribed at top right: "Gestus magis largi lonquiq[ue]/brachijs extensis, A [twice], lag" (The gestures [to be] larger and broader with arms extended), in brown ink by Rubens. Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, no. 19; Goldner, *European Drawings*, 204; and Logan, *The Drawings*, 78–80, no. 8.

5 Gillian Jondorf, *French Renaissance Tragedy: The Dramatic Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 150. For more on the unity of the arts in an eclectic context in this period, see Giancarlo Maiorino, *The Cornucopian Mind and the Baroque Unity of the Arts* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990).

6 Jondorf, *French Renaissance Tragedy*, 153.

7 Euripides's earlier version cemented her identity as the wronged wife who killed her children out of vengeance. For a discussion of Medea's classical lineage and Euripides's version as the source of the "canonical" Medea, see Deborah Boedeker, "Becoming Medea: Assimilation in Euripides," in *Medea*, eds. James J. Clauss and Sarah Iles Johnston (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), esp. 127. Seneca may have known Euripides's play, but his version seems to be based more on Ovid's almost entirely lost version. Stephen Ohlander, *Dramatic Suspense in Euripides' and Seneca's Medea*, American University Studies, Series XVII, Classical Language and Literature, vol. 6 (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 202. On Seneca's plays and tragic heroines, see André Stegmann, *Les Tragédies de Sénèque et le Théâtre de la Renaissance* (Paris: CNRS, 1960); and Marc Fumaroli, "La tragedia come vera eroina di 'Médée' e di 'Phèdre,'" in *Eroi e oratori: retorica e drammaturgia secentesche* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990), 71–103. For another version of *Medea* written in the third century, see Hosidius Geta, *Medea Cento Virgilianus*, ed. R. Lamacchia (Leipzig: Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, 1981); and G. Salanitro, *Osidio Geta, Medea* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1981).

8 While rare, sixteenth-century representations of Medea include the manuscript illumination of Medea in the French manuscript *Vie des Femmes Célèbres*, c. 1505 (Nantes, Musée Dobrée) that depicts her in Burgundian clothing in a rich interior, and an early sixteenth-century Flemish tapestry illustrating Medea presenting the casket with poison gifts to Creon, after Ovid (St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum). The Carracci Bologna fresco (150 × 250 cm) at the Fava Palace depicts a bloody Medea in the *Rejuvenation of Jason by Medea* scene. For Renaissance emblematic representations see Andrea Alciati, *Emblemata* (Paris, 1542; Lyon, 1551), in *Index Emblematicus: Andreas Alciatus, vol 2: Emblems in Translation*, ed. Peter M. Daly, with the assistance of Simon Cuttler (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), emblem 54.

9 Goldner, following Leo Steinberg, hailed it as the first post-classical depiction of Medea. *European Drawings*, 204.

10 Junius, *Painting of the Ancients*, III.ii.12; in Aldrich and Fehl, *Literature of Classical Art*, vol. 1, 170–71.

11 Seneca discusses the "disease" of the passions particularly in the context of the question of eloquence in letter LXXV.11–13 ("On the Diseases of the Soul") in the *Letters to Lucilius*. He wrote: "by 'disease' we mean a persistent perversion of the judgement . . . to be too zealous in striving or things which are only mildly desirable or not desirable at all." Ibid., letter LXXV.11 as translated in Seneca, *Epistulae Morales*, ed. and trans. Gummere, vol. 2, 139–41.

12 The likeliest scenario is that Rubens executed the carefully defined figural grouping at left first, then the quick, "exploded" figure at right, and finally, the fragmentary figure in the central space left between them.

13 The small inkblots at left may not be considered part of the artist's original design, given they seem to have bled through from the *Studies of the Last Supper* on the obverse.

14 No related versions of the Getty *Medea* or *Studies of the Last Supper* exist in the artist's known painted or printed oeuvre, inviting the conclusion that Rubens created the drawing for its own sake or perhaps with storing general motifs for future use in mind. Goldner, *European Drawings*, 204; and Logan, *The Drawings*, 80 and under n. 3.

15 Held, "Early Appreciation of Drawings," 86–88.

16 Two such drawings were recorded in a Quellinus inventory from March 22, 1679. One is listed as a sketch of Labor and Constantia ("Labor et Constantia Rubens crabbelinge"). Logan, *The Drawings*, 182. Logan links this drawing to an earlier version of Rubens's *Design for the Emblem of the Plantin Press* (Museum Plantin Moretus), c. 1628–30; ibid., ill. no. 54. Another sketch of peasants from the March 1679 inventory is listed as "Boeren ende Boerinne, crabbelinge, Rubens." Erik Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, vol. 10, Fontes Historiae Artis Neerlandicae (Brussels, 1984–), 285; as cited in Logan, *The Drawings,* 282, under n. 5. Some "crabbelinge lantschap Rubens" are also listed in conjunction with a November 7, 1678 Quellinus inventory. Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen*, vol. 10, no. 3333, p. 365; as cited in Logan, *The Drawings*, 286, under n. 3.

17 Junius, *Painting of the Ancients*, III.ii.12; in Aldrich and Fehl, *Literature of Classical Art*, vol. 1, 170–71.

18 K. Jex-Blake and E. Sellers, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* (London, 1896), 168; and Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, 86.

19 Bellori, *Vite*, 1672, 247.

20 The term *premières pensées* was used in De Piles's French translation of Philip Rubens's early biography of the artist to suggest the close correspondence between Rubens's *schizzi* and the initial representation of the artist's underlying (mental) concepts. De Piles, "La Vie de Rubens," 1681, 38–39.

21 For draftsmen in the Renaissance tradition, the less finished a drawing was, the more it was often appreciated. See for example, Vasari, *Le vite*, ed. Milanesi, vol. 5, 528. *Macchia* drawings, such as those by Leonardo, were thought to exhibit extraordinary facility through their seeming spontaneity – as if they appeared by themselves. De Piles remarked on the stimulating effect of quick sketches, and Baldinucci claimed that drawings may appear "careless, confused, entirely deformed," yet still may be the best examples for study and teaching. Held, "Early Appreciation of Drawings," 87–90. On the perceived difficulty of pen-and-ink drawing in the Renaissance, see R. Borghini, *Il riposo*, vol. 2 (Florence, 1584), 139; and Held, "Early Appreciation of Drawings," 82.

22 For a discussion of Raphael's *Studies of the Virgin and Child* and the influence of Leonardo's sketchy style, especially in his notebooks, on Raphael's experimental graphic approach, see Ames-Lewis, *Drawing in Early Renaissance Italy*, rev. ed., 2000, 174–75; fig. 179.

23 On long-term loan from the Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, The Hague; inv. os-I49. For Cornelis Cornelisz.'s painting for the Prinsenhof, see Lisa Rosenthal, "Political and Painterly Virtue in Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem's 'Wedding of Peleus and Thetis' for the Haarlem Prinsenhof," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 54 (2003): 173–201. William Sanderson wrote about Rubens and Cornelis van Haarlem together in the context of his discussion of artificial excess and flights of "fancy." William Sanderson, *Graphice, The Use of the Pen and Pensil, or The Most Excellent Art of Painting* (London, 1658), 24.

24 Both figures may also have been inspired directly by Raphael, accounting for their similarities. On the issue of artistic exchanges between Haarlem and Antwerp in the first decades of the century, especially between Rubens and Goltzius, see Filip Vermeylen and Karolien De Clippel, "Rubens and Goltzius in Dialogue: Artistic Exchanges between Antwerp and Haarlem during the Revolt," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 28, no. 2 (2012): 138–60. There is no evidence Rubens traveled to Haarlem before his journey there with Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hendrick van Balen in 1612, however. On this trip, see ibid., and under n. 28; and J.G. van Gelder, "Rubens in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek/Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 3 (1950–51): 119–20.

25 See Chapter 2, in this volume.

26 Ibid. For the *all'improvviso* style, see also Montaigne's *Essais*; Marc Fumaroli, "Les Essais de Montaigne: L'éloquence du for intérieur," in *La diplomatie de l'esprit*, 125–61, esp. 136, 151.

27 See Chapter 2, in this volume. For the *style coupé*, see Fumaroli, "Correspondance familière," 412.

28 For Lipsius's interest in eliciting the "full presence of the absent subject" in his personal letters, and in demonstrating "the special candor of a free mind," see Young, introduction, *Principles of Letter-Writing*, xxiv–xxv.

29 For Rubens's sketchiness, speed, effortlessness and "calculated spontaneity" in the tradition of Ludovico Dolce, Castiglione, and *sprezzatura* drawing, see Held, *Oil Sketches*, vol. 1, 7. See also Dézallier d'Argenville, *Abrégé de la vie des fameux peintres* (Paris, 1762), xxxii. For the notion of Rubens "letting go" in drawing, see Held, "Early Appreciation of Drawings," 89.

30 According to De Piles, "en faisant un Dessein, (Rubens) s'abandonne à son génie, & se fait voir tel qu'il est." *Abrégé*, 67; and Held, "Early Appreciation of Drawings," 89.

31 Bellori, *Vite*, 1672; translated in Sutton and Wieseman, *Drawn by the Brush*, 16.

32 Sanderson, *Graphice*, 34; cited in Lusheck, "Rubens's Graphic Eclecticism," chapter 2; Logan, "Rubens as Teacher," 250; and Sutton and Wieseman, *Drawn by the Brush*, 16.

33 Junius, *Painting of the Ancients*, in Aldrich and Fehl, *Literature of Classical Art*, 264.

34 For Zuccaro's ideas of *disegno interno* and *disegno esterno* and their relationship to Rubens, see Chapter 1, in this volume.

35 This is an idea that Lipsius likely borrowed from Erasmus. *De Copia*, ed. Knott, lines 111–12.

36 Rooses and Ruelens, *Rubens-Bulletijn* (Antwerp/Brussels, 1910), 202–03; and Michael Baxandall, in conversation with the author, Berkeley, CA, May 17, 1995. Soldiers with swords are frequently shown taking infants from their grieving mothers. Other dead infants are shown lying around. Sometimes, there is a seated woman (possibly alluding to Jeremiah 31:15), who was, in the medieval Church, sometimes understood as a prefiguration of the Herod massacre: "Rachel weeping for her children refused to be comforted . . . because they were not."

37 See David Jaffé and Giovanna Tonelli, *Rubens' Massacre of the Innocents. The Thompson Collection at the Art Gallery of Ontario* (Ottawa: Skylet Publishing, 2009).

38 P.J. Mariette, *Description Sommaire des Desseins des Grands Maistres d'Italie, des Pays-Bas et de France du Cabinet de Feu M. Crozat* (Paris, 1741), 93, no. 813.

39 For example, see ibid., nos. 810–11. Rubens also likely studied one of Marcantonio's engravings for a Raphael design for his early *Adam and Eve* painting, c. 1600 (Antwerp, Rubenshuis).

40 Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, 73, under no. 19.

41 Thijs Weststeijn, "Rembrandt and Rhetoric. The Concepts of *affectus, enargeia* and *ornatus* in Samel van Hoogstraten's Judgement of His Master," in *The Learned Eye: Regarding Art, Theory, and the Artist's Reputation: Essays for Ernst van de Wetering*, eds. Marieke van den Doel et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), 117, and under n. 54.

42 Ibid.

43 For Müller Hofstede's notion of Rubens's thematic "raw material" related to invention and especially the Berlin Sketchbook sheet with *Figures after Raphael and Holbein*, see Müller Hofstede, *Katalog I: Rubens in Italien*, 50–62; and Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, under no. 7.

44 For Rubens's early resorting of models according to typological groupings, see his studies after Tobias Stimmer's *Neue Kunstliche Figuren Biblischer Historien* (Basel, 1576), and Hans Holbein the Younger's *Imaginis Mortis* (Lyon, 1547) and *De Antiquitabus judaicis* (Frankfurt, 1580).

45 Martin Warnke, *Peter Paul Rubens: Life and Work*, trans. Donna Pedini Simpson (Woodbury, New York: Barron's, 1980), fig. 71; and Alpers, *The Making of Rubens*, 22, pl. 17. The formal correspondences between the central, wailing mother in the Getty sheet and the Munich painting are so striking that certain scholars once believed that Rubens executed the Getty drawing as a direct preparatory study for the painting. This relationship has since been widely discredited, however. Not only was the Munich canvas executed decades after the drawing, but neither the grieving expression nor the Getty figural groupings reappear (at least verbatim) in an earlier, oak-on-panel version of the painting, executed around the time of the Getty sheet, circa 1611–12 (Art Gallery of Ontario).

46 I am grateful to Suzanne Walker for this observation.
47 Translation by Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, 73.
48 For commentary on classical, medieval, and Renaissance interest in the Medea myth, see, for example, James J. Clauss and Sara Johnston, eds., *Medea: Essays on Medea in Myth, Literature, Philosophy and Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Ruth Morse, *The Medieval Medea* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1996); and André Arcellaschi, *Medée dans le Théâtre Latin: d'Ennuis à Sénèque*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome, Palais Farnese, vol. 132 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1990).
49 For other examples of Rubens's use of small, careful Latin inscriptions in pen and ink, see his *Descent from the Cross* (St. Petersburg, Hermitage); ill., Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, no. 15, fig. 14; the *Anointing of Christ's Body* (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen); ill., ibid., no. 12, fig. 13; and Rubens's *Two Copies after Tobias Stimmer*; ill., ibid., no. 5, fig. 5.
50 Ibid., no. 17; and Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, 64, fig. 205; and McGrath "The Drunken Alcibiades," 231, 234; and fig. 42.
51 Ibid.
52 Inscribed and translated by Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, under no. 58, p. 92.
53 Bembo, Baldassare Castiglione, and Pietro Aretino all used drawings as topics of learned conversation. Rubin, "Answering to Names," 40. Rubens also raised a number of drawings as points of discussion with humanist friends in his personal letters.
54 See letters dated 1617 in J.-F. Lhote, ed., *Correspondance de Peiresc et Aleandro* (1616–18), vol. 1 (Clermont-Ferrand: Adosa, 1995), nos. 7–8, pl. IV. Aleandro was apparently a source of important designs for Rubens through Peiresc. In one instance, Rubens asked Peiresc for a drawing of a *Three Graces* mirror in Bartolomeo Gioly's collection (which Peiresc saw in Paris in 1623), and Peiresc asked Aleandro to secure the drawing for him. Magurn, *Letters*, no. 53; and Barb. Lat. Ms. 6504, f. 123v for the correspondence between Peiresc and Aleandro. This correspondence has also been discussed by David Jaffé, "Two Bronzes in Poussin's *Studies of Antiquity*," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 17 (1989): 39 and under n. 7.
55 Carl Robert, *Die Antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs* [hereafter listed as *ASR*], II, *Mythologische Cyklen* (Berlin, 1890), tafel LXIII, no. 199 (then listed in the Stamperia Reale in Rome), 212; see Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, under no. 16.
56 Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics*, 11–12, under n. 31.
57 Ibid. For early emblematic depictions of Medea, see the various editions of Andrea Alciati's *Emblemata* (1522; Paris, 1542; and Lyon, 1551 editions); in *Index Emblematicus: Andreas Alciatus, vol 2: Emblems in Translation*, ed. Daly, vol. 2, emblem 54.
58 Ibid.
59 The Padua, 1621, motto reads "Ei, qui semel sua prodegerit, aliena credi non oportere," or "He who has once been prodigal with what is his, should not be trusted with what belongs to others?" The accompanying translated epigram reads, "Why do you build your nest in the arms of the Colchian woman, Medea? Alas, O ignorant bird, why do you entrust your chicks so badly? Most savage Medea, a wicked parent, killed her own children, and do you expect that she would spare yours?" Ibid., translated by Daly.
60 For Seneca's characterization of Medea as a "stone of women," see Jason's characterization of her in Euripides, *Medea*, ed. and trans. Gilbert Murray (New York: Oxford University Press, 1912), 79.
61 The accompanying verses urge the reader not to trust one who has been cruel enough to "open the breasts of her own children." In the Paris 1542 edition, the motto reads: "He who is prodigal with his own should not be trusted with others" (Wer das sein verthuet, solle man frembdes nit befelhen). The Marquale (Lyon, 1551) motto reads: "One should not entrust others' possessions to someone who has wasted his own" (Che non si dee commetter le cose altrui in chi le sue ha consumate); translations by Daly in *Andreas Alciatus, vol. 2: Emblems in Translation*, emblem 54.
62 Ill., Cesare Ripa and Jean Baudoin (with engravings by Jacques de Bie), *Iconologie* . . . pt. 2 (Paris, 1643), 122. Rubens's correspondence with de Bie dates to as early as 1611. See Rooses and Ruelens, *CDR*, CXXVII, vol. 2, 35–38.

63 Held identified the Vatican Belvedere version, now in the Museo Nazionale Romano in Rome, as the drawing's source. *Selected Drawings*, 1959, vol. 1, under no. 159; and ibid., 1986, under no. 16, 72. See also Gaggadis-Robin, *Jason et Médée sur les Sarcophages*, 180, no. 8, fig. 10; and Robert, *ASR*, II, *Mythologische Cyklen*, 212, no. 199.

64 Classical friezes are often dominated by a final scene in which Medea defiantly departs on her chariot led by magical serpents. At least eight different extant antique relief cycles include this defiant scene, including two in Rome, and one in Berlin, Anconia, Naples, Basel, the Vatican, and Ostia. Gaggadis-Robin, *Jason et Médée sur les Sarcophages*, 180, figs. 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 32, 35, and 40. All authors after Euripides mentioned Medea's magical flight. While certain Attic examples underscore her human side, the Medea on classical sarcophagi often exhibited the imposing characteristics of the grand-daughter of the Sun ("au regard étincelant qu'aucun mortel n'ose affronter"). Ibid., 187, 192–93.

65 Such attributes, including the Phrygian bonnet, rich oriental costume, and Medea's sword, were emphasized particularly in Attic sculpture. Ibid., chapters XVI–XVII.

66 Attic examples of Medea seated after the infanticide may be found in ibid., 187–89.

67 The unusual nature of the iconography of Medea fleeing on foot was also noted by Logan, *The Drawings*, 80, under no. 8.

68 This demi-human nature sat side by side in Seneca's *Medea* with her demi-divine nature.

69 For Seneca's interest in presenting Medea highlighted "in the darkened void of the stage . . . outside of civilization," see Jon M. Berry, "The Dramatic Incarnation of Will in Seneca's *Medea*," *Journal of Dramatic Theory & Criticism* (Spring 1996): 12.

70 Ibid.

71 Seneca, *Nat. Quest.* (IV, preface 1), as translated by Thomas H. Corcoran, in Seneca, *Natural Questions*, vol. 2, Loeb Classical Library 457 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 3. This passage has also been recently discussed by Emily Wilson, *The Greatest Empire: A Life of Seneca* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

72 Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, 73, under no. 20.

73 For Rubens's engagement with both Seneca and Lipsius during this period, see Chapters 1 and 2, in this volume.

74 On these Lipsian Neostoic principles, see McCrae, *Constant Minds*, 5.

75 For Rubens's early Senecan graphic interests, see Huemer, *Rubens and the Roman Circle*, 67–72. Rubens's treatment of tragic subjects in his mythologies from the Roman period may be contrasted with his later mythologies from the 1620s and 1630s when he was increasingly inspired by amorous Ovidian *poesies* and the works of Titian. For these latter concerns: ibid., 63; and Alpers, *Torre de la Parada*.

76 Huemer, *Rubens and the Roman Circle*, 67–72.

77 The drawing has been described as an independent drawing, even if some of its features reappear in revised form in other, later works. Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, 73, no. 20; and Goldner, *European Drawings*, 202, no. 90.

78 The drawing from P.J. Mariette's collection has been the source of some attribution questions. For the inclusion of the Louvre Thisbe drawing in Rubens's Senecan grouping, see Huemer, *Rubens and the Roman Circle*, 67–72. Logan attributes the drawing, like Held, McGrath, and others, to Rubens and ties the drawing stylistically to Rubens's *Battle of the Greeks and Amazons* (London, British Museum, c. 1602–04); inv. 1895.15.1045. Logan, *The Drawings*, 88, under no. 12, fig. 75. See also Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, under no. 24, pp. 75–76; and Elizabeth McGrath, "Rubens, the Gonzaga, and the 'Adoration of the Trinity,'" in *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, eds. David Chambers and Jane Martineau (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1981), 214. For a note regarding the traditional attribution to Van Dyck, including Frits Lugt's attribution to him (*Inventaire Général*, vol. 1, no. 591), see Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, under no. 24, p. 75. It is now believed that the Louvre and Bowdoin drawings were once cut from the same sheet, thus further arguing for Rubens as its maker.

79 For the Creusa identification, see Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, no. 59, who also links it specifically to Seneca's *Medea*. For the Bayonne drawing, including the re-identification to Agrippina, see McGrath, *Subjects from History*, 278–82, no. 55, fig. 188. The Pushkin Museum Niobe drawing is illustrated by Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, no. 89, fig. 81.

80 H.M. Hine points to Seneca's "terse, rapid dialogue in which speakers regularly speak only a line or half-line at a time." Hine also has observed Seneca's avoidance of proper names, which like Lipsius's elliptical style of writing, heightens the difficulty of the play and "makes the audience work hard." H.M. Hine, introduction to Seneca, *Medea*, Aris & Phillips Classical Texts (Eastbourne, UK: Oxbow Books, 2000), 33–34. As an example, Hine cites lines 11–12 of *Medea* which, in translation, just reads: "and mistress carried off with great faithfulness." Ibid., 33. Hine suggests that Seneca may have learned the potential of brevity from Ovid, whose *Metamorphoses* and *Medea* he likely knew. Ibid., 35; and "Lucius Annaeus Seneca the Younger," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. Esther Eidinow, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

81 De Schepper et al., *Rubens en zijm bibliotheek*, 81–82, no. 42. There was also a second, posthumous edition of the *Opera Omnia* (Plantin-Moretus Press, 1637) stored in Rubens's library.

82 Seneca's *Medea* was included in the posthumous 1637 printing of Lipsius's *Opera Omnia* though.

83 In a note in *Animadversiones in Tragoedias quae L. Annaeo Senecae tribuuntu* (Leiden, 1588), Lipsius argued for multiple authorship for most of the tragedies then attributed to Seneca the Younger, but did not doubt Seneca as *Medea*'s only author. On the question of Lipsius's contention that multiple authors were responsible for the Latin tragedies, see C.D.N. Costa, "The Tragedies," in *Seneca*, Routledge Revivals, ed. C.D.N. Costa (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 2014). For Lipsius's contention that *Medea* alone was by Seneca, see Lipsius/Waszink, *Politica: Six Books of Politics*, 146–47. For the Latin tragedies, including *Medea*, as published in the late sixteenth-century Lowlands: ibid., 146 and under n. 33.

84 Raphelengius, *Decem Tragodiae quao Lucio Annaeo Senecae tribuuntur; opera Fr. Raphelengii, Plantiniana ope u. cl. Iusti Lipsi emendatiores* (Antwerp: apud Martinum Nutium, 1601).

85 Lipsius/Waszink, *Politica: Six Books of Politics*, 148, under n. 38.

86 Ill., McNairn, *The Young Van Dyck*, no. 46, 110–12 and 225.

87 On the perceptual and mnemonic holes created by viewing a figure in transit, see Bertrand Rouge, *Serializations* (Pau: University of Pau/Rhétorique des Arts, 1993), 10.

88 Horst Gerson, *Art and Architecture in Belgium 1600–1800* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1960), 73.

89 Huemer, *Rubens and the Roman Circle*, 71–72.

90 Euripides, *Medea*, with an English translation by David Kovacs, Loeb Classical Library no. 12, rev. ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), line 180.

91 On the use of the device of presenting plays that begin in the middle of the action (*in medias res*) in early modern French Senecan theater, including in Pléiade circles, see Gillian Jondorf, *Robert Garnier and the Themes of Political Tragedy in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 8–9. Jondorf also noted that most violent action takes place *off stage* in this tradition, which may also bear relevance on why the violent murder of the children is not pictured in the Getty sheet. Ibid., 9.

92 I thank Jane Anne Staw for this fine observation, particularly vis-à-vis narrative content and Rubens's use of the present participle, in the drawing.

93 On Aristotle's notion of the unity of time in the *Poetics*, see also G.F. Else, *Aristotle's Poetics: The Argument* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957); R.T. Urban, "All or Nothing at All: Another Look at the Unity of Time in Aristotle," *Classical Journal* 61 (1966): 262–64; and "The Social Significance of Aristotle's 'Unity of Time,'" *Atti Accademia Pontaniana, Napoli – Supplemento N.S.*, 61 (2012): 145–54. For Aristotle's belief that tragedy must be "whole" to be beautiful and superior to epic poetry, see the *Poetics*, chapter 26; and Joe Sachs, "Aristotle's Poetics," *International Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, accessed January 2, 2014: http://www.iep.utm.edu/aris-poe/print.

94 "Il avoit un si grand amour pour tout ce qui avoit le caractére de l'antiquité, qu'il envoya acheter par tout l'Italie une quantité prodigieuse de Statuës, de Medailles, & de pierres precieuses gravées. Et c'estoit à considérer ces belles choses, qu'il passoit le tems qu'il avoit de repos." De Piles, "La Vie de Rubens," in *Dissertations*, 1681.

95 Gombrich, "Style *all'antica*," 122–28.

96 Jacques de Bie, emblem LXXIV, illustrated in Ripa and Baudoin, *Iconologie*, pt. 2, 85. Rubens knew de Bie, and designed the title page for his book on numismatics published in Antwerp in 1617, *Numismata Imperatorum Romanorum*, and subsequently for editions of Nonnius's *Commentarius in Numismata*. Frans Baudouin, *Pietro Paolo Rubens*, trans. Elsie Callander (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1977), 266–67.

97 H.M. Hine observed of Seneca's *Medea*, "[Seneca's allusiveness] makes demands on the audience, and flatters them that they are capable of understanding it." Hine further observed that Seneca's allusiveness "is also one way for the author to counteract any feeling the audience may have that the story is over-worked and over-familiar." Seneca/Hine, *Medea*, 33.

98 Gaggadis-Robin, *Jason et Médée sur les Sarcophages*, 189, under n. 34. For the treatment of Medea in antiquity, see also Robert, *ASR*, II, *Mythologische Cyklen*, 205–17.

99 Rubens closely studied such reliefs on a combination of original marbles, copies, and Renaissance prints and drawings, including Raphael-school engravings, while in Italy and upon his return to Antwerp. For example, he likely knew the second-century Villa Medici sarcophagus depicting the *Judgment of Paris and the Return to Olympia* through a Marcantonio or Bonasone engraving. Huemer, *Rubens and the Roman Circle*, 64–65, figure 1. On Rubens's use of Roman classical sculptures and bas-reliefs, see Van der Meulen, *Copies after the Antique*, and McGrath, "Painted Decoration," 245–77; esp. 276. Jeffrey Muller has also demonstrated that antique sarcophagi were amongst the Roman works in Rubens's personal collection; see, e.g., Muller, *Artist as Collector*, pl. 133.

100 Ill., Gaggadis-Robin, *Jason et Médée sur les Sarcophages*, 181, no. 7, fig. 9.

101 Inv. 80711. *Museo nazionale romano. Le sculture*. I,8 (Catalogo delle sculture esposte nelle Aule delle Terme), ed. A. Giuliano (Rome: De Luca, 1985), 51ff, no. 2, 2.

102 Phyllis Bober was the first to tie the Chicago *Three Figures from a Roman Sarcophagus* to the Villa Mattei relief. Reported in Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, 73, under no. 21.

103 Van der Meulen, *Copies after the Antique*, vol. 1, 60–61. On Rubens's copy after the Villa Mattei sarcophagus, and the likely location of the sarcophagus in the Mattei garden, see Van der Meulen, *Copies after the Antique*, vol. 2, 157–59, cat no. 138. According to Van der Meulen, the sarcophagus was in the basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura before it entered the Mattei collection and was known to at least some Renaissance artists.

104 For a brief discussion of Rubens's use of the Villa Borghese relief now in Venice see Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, under no. 15, p. 71 (citing C. Robert, *ASR*, III, 3). There is also a second-century version of this sarcophagus in the Vatican (Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano. inv. no. 10437). For a helpful line drawing of the design, see Richard Brilliant, *Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), 129, fig. 4.1.

105 Held first noted the relationship of Rubens's use of the hanging arm here to the Villa Borghese sarcophagus. *Selected Drawings*, 1959, 94.

106 Ovid, *Met.*, 6:146–312.

107 Pigman, "Versions of Imitation," 11.

108 For Rubens's preoccupation with enlivening antique statuary, see Rubens, *De Imitatione* in De Piles, *Cours de peinture*, 82–85. For Rubens's treatise, see Muller, "Theory and Practice of Imitation," 229–47; and Chapter 1, in this volume.

109 For another example of Rubens's incorporation of *mise-en-page* in his drawings, see *The Baptism of Christ* (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins; inv. 20.187) in which he inserted an emulated figure for Christ drawn from Sebastiano del Piombo's *Flagellation of Christ* in San Pietro in Montorio, Rome. Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, under no. 28, p. 77, pl. 28. These well-recognized additions conferred the power of tradition to newly wrought compositions.

110 For examples of personal letters with such classical allusions, see Chapter 2, in this volume. For a discussion of the "antique style," see Ernst Gombrich, "Style *all'antica*," 122–28.

111 For a discussion of Junius's remarks on invoking a sculptural effect through light and shade in *The Painting of the Ancients*, see Ernst Gombrich, "The Heritage of Apelles,"

in *Gombrich on the Renaissance: The Heritage of Apelles* (London: Phaidon Press, 1976), 5. De Piles also identified the phenomenon that white and black variously recede and advance. *Cours de peinture*, 181–83.

112 Another esteemed predecessor of Rubens, Masaccio, also applied this graphic approach in copies after antique sarcophagi. According to Paul Hills in his commentary on Masaccio's use of antique sarcophagi to effect fixed form, "Modeling no longer expresses the pliancy of form, it reveals its fixity in space, its density of surface." Paul Hills, *The Light of Early Italian Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 131–33. Rubens copied some of Masaccio's designs while in Florence, including figures from the Brancacci Chapel frescoes.

113 Blaise de Vignère, *Traicté des chiffres* . . . (Paris, 1587); and Marc Fumaroli, "Vers la triomphe de la prose: Les manifestes de Vignère," in *La diplomatie de l'esprit*, 39.

114 Seneca compared Medea to an impassioned, blood-thirsty, and savage *maenad* in *Medea*, line 849. For Seneca's mention of Medea's *impotenti furore*, see lines 851–52. For more on this important comparison in Seneca, see Thomas Kohn, *The Dramaturgy of Senecan Tragedy* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2013), 87–88, and under ns. 27 and 30.

115 See for example the reliefs in the Louvre (MA3626) and the Rome Villa Albani (973: no. 77); illustrated and discussed in Lori-Ann Touchette, *The Dancing Maenad Reliefs: Continuity and Change in Roman Copies*, Bulletin Supplement, 62 (London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, 1994): nos. 28 and 47c. Touchette's essay comprehensively catalogues this classical iconography. Ibid., iii–119.

116 Evers was the first to note the relationship of the Getty Medea to the *maenad*. Hans Gerhard Evers, *Rubens und Sein Werk, Neue Forschungen* (Brussels: De Lage Landen, 1949), fig. 249. See also Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, 73, under no. 20.

117 Rawson, *Drawing*, 19, 247–48; and Robert L. Schwartz, *Metaphors and Action Schemes: Some Themes in Intellectual History* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1997), 245, under n. 11.

118 Rawson, *Drawing*, 247–48.

119 I thank Christopher Hallett for this critical point; in conversation with the author, Berkeley, CA, May 2, 2011.

120 See, for example, *Three Nymphs led by Hermes*, marble votive relief, fifth c. BCE (Berlin, Antiken Museen); in Carl Blümel, *Greek Sculptors at Work*, trans. Lydia Holland and rev. by Betty Ross, 2nd ed. (London: Phaidon Press, 1966), no. 69.

121 Rubens used classical departure scenes as models for the painted decorations on his new Antwerp palazzo around 1609. McGrath, "Painted Decoration," 259 and 270.

122 In related sarcophagus reliefs such as Rome, MN, inv. 75248 and Rome, MN, inv. 222, the final figure of Medea at right faces the spectator. Gaggadis-Robin, *Jason et Médée sur les Sarcophages*, nos. 8, 21, and figs. 10, 32. According to Gaggadis-Robin, "This characteristic position of Medea's head gives her a supernatural side, possessing the force of expression of the Gorgons from the archaic period." Ibid., 181.

123 Huemer used this term in connection with the group of mythological drawings from Rubens's Roman years that focused on finding pictorial equivalents for the passions. *Rubens and the Roman Circle*, 70–71.

124 Rooses and Ruelens, *Rubens-Bulletijn* 5, 202–03.

125 Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, 73.

126 Mariette, *Description Sommaire*, no. 813, p. 93.

127 Held also connected the hanging arm to Michelangelo's use of the motif. *Selected Drawings*, 1959, 94. For an example of Michelangelo's use of the pose, see Ludwig Goldscheider, *Michelangelo Drawings* (London: Phaidon Press, 1951), fig. 2. Other examples of Rubens's use of this "pathos formula" include Rubens's *St. Sebastian*, c. 1604 (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Corsini, Rome), the *Entombment of Christ*, c. 1613–15 (National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa), and the *Murder of Abel* after Michel Coxcie (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Antwerp, 1977).

128 The *Scuola Nuova* tapestries depict ten scenes from the Life of Christ. Nicole Dacos, "Raphaël et les Pays-Bas: L'École de Bruxelles," in *Studi su Raffaello: Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi* (Urbino-Firenze, 6–14 aprile 1984), eds. Micaela Sambucco

Hamoud and Maria Letizia Strocchi, vol. 1 (Urbino: Quattro Venti, 1987), 611–23. The three Massacre of the Innocents designs are also discussed by Dacos who first attributed them to Vincidor along with the rest of the *Scuola Nuova* tapestries in "Tommaso Vincidor, un élève de Raphaël au Pays-Bas," in *Relations artistiques entre les Pays-Bas et L'Italie à la Renaissance: Études dédiées à Suzanne Sulzberger*, vol. 4 (Brussels and Rome: L'Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1980), 61–99; and esp. 80–84 and fig. 23. For more on Coecke van Aelst's tapestry designs, see Elizabeth A.H. Cleland, ed., *Grand Design: Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Renaissance Tapestry*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014).

129 Produced in Brussels, the *Scuola Nuova* designs would likely have been widely known throughout the Low Countries by Rubens's day. Dacos argues that Vincidor likely brought the designs back from Rome to Brussels. "Tommaso Vincidor," 88. For Rubens's painted copies after Raphael, from 1600–08, and the 1620s, see Muller, *Rubens: The Artist as Collector*, 110–11. Rubens may have played a role in Charles I's acquisition of Raphael's cartoons for the Sistine Chapel Acts of the Apostles tapestries in 1623. John Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel* (London: Phaidon, 1972), 145–47; and Muller, *Artist as Collector*, 110, under n. 1.

130 For Rubens's treatment of Alexandrian hair in the earlier Medea drawing in Rotterdam, see Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, under no. 16 and p. 51. For the linking of Raphael's use of the female model to creative *furia*, see Patricia A. Emison, *Creating the "Divine" Artist: From Dante to Michelangelo* (Brill: Leiden/Boston, 2004), 183; for *furia* and Raphael, see also ibid., 185 and 311. For the association of hair "puffed up as though with serpents" to *furia*, especially in Michelangelo, see Richard Mutter, *A History of Modern Painting*, vol. 1 (London: Henry & Co., 1895), 245.

131 There are other instances when Rubens adopted "narrative moments" from Raphael's compositions, including his borrowing of motifs from Raphael's *Loggia di Psyche*. According to Jeffrey Muller, Rubens chose not to make a literal copy but selected individual "moments" of the fresco, which he then painted in oil on panel on a much smaller scale. Muller, *Artist as Collector*, 110, no. 76.

132 Inv. 1760.

133 Alberti highlighted the importance of hand gestures and facial expressions in the expression of human passions in Book II of *Della Pittura* (On Painting, 1435). Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 11–12. For a recent English translation of Alberti's treatise, including Book II, see Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting: A New Translation and Critical Edition*, ed. and trans. Rocco Sinisgalli (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), esp. 42–73.

134 On the extent of Giotto's use of this expression, see Moshe Barasch, *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1976).

135 Ill., Garff, *Rubens Cantoor*, 116; see also Phyllis P. Bober and Ruth Rubinstein (with contributions by Susan Woodford), *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources* (London: Harvey Miller, 1986), no. 122. Alpers noted Rubens's use of established, recognizable figures of despair, such as the Laocoön, as models for the facial expressions and bodily gestures of figures in the Munich painting. Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 212; and Alpers, *Making of Rubens*, 22–24.

136 Rubens's drawings of the Laocoön are housed, for example, in Milan, Dresden, and Copenhagen. For a discussion of whether the statue could have been accessed directly, see Iris Kockelbergh, "Laocoön," in *Rubens Cantoor*, ed. Nieuwdorp et al., 117–18; and Giorgio Fubini and Julius Held, "Padre Resta's Rubens Drawings after Antique Sculpture," *Master Drawings* 2 (1964): 139. On the sculpture's Renaissance heritage, see Matthias Winner, "Zum Nachleben des Laokoön in der Renaissance," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 16 (1974): 83–121.

137 Rubens to Balthasar Gerbier, Antwerp, 19 May 1627, and Rubens to Pierre Dupuy, Brussels, 7 July 1627; in Magurn, *Letters*, nos. 109 and 116. Villiers bought the collection, which included stones, marbles, and medal works as well as paintings by Italian Masters and the artist himself, from Rubens for 100,000 florins. Van der Meulen, *Petrus Paulus*

Rubens Antiquarius, 26. See also *Rubens Cantoor*, ed. Hans Nieuwdorp, 118–19, under n. 14; and *Encyclopedia of the History of Classical Archaeology*, ed. Grummond, with entry by Philip J. Traina, 205.

138 Ill., Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1959, vol. 1, 51, fig. 14; *Rubens Cantoor*, ed. Nieuwdorp, fig. 41; Garff and Pedersen, *Rubens Cantoor*, no. 208; and Van der Meulen, *Copies after the Antique*, no. 84, fig. 154.

139 Petel's sculpture remained in the artist's collection until his death. Ill., Muller, *Artist as Collector*, 145; pl. 116.

140 Ill., ibid., pl. 140. The Niobe plaster is also listed and dated in F.T.J. Godin, "Antiquity in Plaster: Production, Reception and Destruction of Plaster Copies from the Athenian Agora to Felix Meritis in Amsterdam" (PhD diss., Instituut voor Cultuur en Geschiedenis, University of Amsterdam, 2009), 263, no. 23c; accessed May 12, 2016: http://hdl.handle.net/11245/1.319485.

141 On the power of faces to command viewer attention in art, see especially Ernst Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (London: Phaidon Press, 1968); and Gombrich, "The Mask and the Face: The Perception of Physiognomic Likeness in Life and Art," in *Art, Perception, and Reality*, eds. E. Gombrich, Julian Hochberg, and Max Black (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972): 1–46.

142 See most notably the essays in *Rubens passioni*, eds. Heinen and Thielmann, including Heinen, "Haut und Knocken." On this topic, see also Suzanne Walker, "Composing the Passions in Rubens' Hunting Scenes," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 60, no. 1 (2010): 109–24.

143 For Giotto's concern with expressions, see Moshe Barasch, *Giotto and the Language of Gesture*, Cambridge Studies in the History of Art (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and Barasch, *Gestures of Despair*.

144 Descartes's *Traité sur les passions de l'Âme* (Paris, 1649) outlines his theory on external signs, seen especially in the face, hands, and muscles, and their relationship to communicating interior passions, or movements of the soul. See also Jennifer Montagu, *The Expression of the Passions: The Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun's Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 157, on Descartes and Charles Le Brun's adoption of Cartesian principles in his expression studies.

145 Bellori, *Vite*, 1672, 254; and De Piles, *Dissertation*, 1681, 36.

146 Ibid.

147 Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, no. 7, pl. 8. On the early modern passions and the role of physiognomy in expressing the passions and character, see Martin Porter, *Windows of the Soul: The Art of Physiognomy in European Culture*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005); Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson, eds., *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2004); and Melissa Percival, *The Appearance of Character: Physiognomy and Facial Expression in Eighteenth-Century France*, Modern Humanities Research Association, vol. 47, ed. Graham Chesters (London: W.S. Maney & Son, Ltd., 1999).

148 Ill., Montagu, *Expression of the Passions*, 152–53.

149 Standardization of expression achieved fruition later in the century through the drawings and reproductions of Charles Le Brun and Antoine Coypel. Le Brun derived the notion of the six primary emotions and the "composite" movements from Descartes, his primary influence in his expression studies. Ibid., 218. On this topic, see also Henri Souchon, "Descartes et Le Brun: Étude comparée de la notion cartésienne des 'signes exterieurs' et de la théorie de l'Expression de Charles Le Brun," *Les Études philosophiques* 30 (1980): 427–58.

150 See Le Brun's drawings of *Douleur* (Bodily and Mental Pain) (Paris, Musée du Louvre; G.M.6477); *Mouvement de douleur* (G.M.6478) and *Douleur egu du Corps et d'esprit* (G.M.6497); ill., Montagu, *Expression of the Passions*, figs. 130, 151, 153. Unlike his drawing of extreme "Acute pain," modeled after the Laocoön son at left, Le Brun raises the pupil towards the eyebrow in the less violent form of pain in G.M.6497, as Rubens does in the Getty drawing. For a comparison of different types and levels of pain in Le Brun, see ibid., esp. 145–47.

151 Ibid., 131, 137.
152 On emerging ideas of the self in early modern Europe, see Taylor, *Sources of the Self*.
153 See, for example, P. Scriverius and Claude Saumaise's *Medea* in *Collectanea Veterum Tragicorum aliorumque fragmenta* (Leiden, 1620).
154 Harry Barnwell called the psychological tragedy a "disposition" of the period. "Seventeenth-century Tragedy," 23.
155 Ibid., 20.
156 In the *Letters to Lucilius*, Seneca evoked "l'effroi sacre qui saisait l'âme au spectacle de la nature tormentée, ténébreuse, abrupt." Fumaroli, "Correspondance familière," 412.
157 Arcellaschi, *Médée dans le Théâtre Latin*, 253–54; 385–86. For the notion that Seneca's Medea represents a case of "admirable pathology," see Jackie Pigeaud, *La maladie de l'âme: étude sur la relation de l'âme et du corps dans la tradition médicophilosphique antique* (Paris: Société d'Edition "Les Belles Lettres", 1981), 472; and F. Dupont, "Le personnage et son mythe dans les tragédies de Senèque," in *Actes du IXe Congrès de L'Association G. Budé*, Rome, 13–18 avril 1973 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1975), 456.
158 Abstraction was often used as a Stoic device, including in invocations of Medea. Seneca writes of her *anime* (v.21), *femineos metus* (v. 42), *mente* (v. 43), *mens* (v. 46), *dolor* (v. 49), and *furore* (v. 52). Arcellaschi, *Médée dans le Théâtre Latin*, 372–73. Hine also observes: "A particular characteristic of Seneca is the use of abstract expressions instead, or alongside, of concrete ones." He used lines 144–45 as an example of Seneca's mixing of concrete and abstract language. Seneca/Hine, *Medea*, 37.
159 Fumaroli, "La Mélancholie et ses Remèdes," in *La diplomatie de l'esprit*, 412. For Plato's notion of madness (*furor*) as a heroic disease linked to the ecstatic and inspired qualities of the melancholic figure, see Bridget G. Lyons, *The Voices of Melancholy: Studies in Literary Treatments of Melancholy in Renaissance England* (London: Routledge, 1971), 3.
160 For *personae descriptio* in Erasmus, see *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum*, ed. Knott, in *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1.6, 206–07.
161 Melanchthon's text went through a revised and expanded edition that was republished a number of times later. D.P. Walker, "Medical Spirits in Philosophy and Theology from Ficino to Newton," in *Music, Spirit and Language in the Renaissance*, ed. Penelope Gonk (London: Variorum Reprints, 1985), 289.
162 Fumaroli, "La Mélancholie et ses Remèdes," 404. For contemporary tracts on melancholy, see for example, Jordan Guibelet, *Trois Discours sur la mélancolie* . . . (Paris, 1603); and Juan Huarte, *L'Examen des esprits pour les sciences où se montre les différences d'esprits* . . ., trans. Vion d'Alibray (Paris: Jean Le Bouc, 1645).
163 On French tragic drama and its relevance to Senecan drama, see, for example, Jondorf, *French Renaissance Tragedy*; Barnwell, *Tragic Drama of Corneille and Racine*; and Barnwell, "Tragedy and Painting in the Seventeenth Century." Aside from Corneille's, Routrou's, and La Pérouse's versions, there was also Benoit Bauduyn's edition of the Senecan tragedies, published at Troyes in 1629 (Paris, BN, 8.4977).
164 Arcellaschi, *Médée dans le Théâtre Latin*, 390. Marc Fumaroli also addresses themes of self-estrangement and isolation in early modern theater in "La Mélancholie et ses Remèdes." Seneca also considers these themes in *Nat. Quest.*, IV, pref. 1.
165 Lyons, *Voices of Melancholy*, 11, 56.
166 For example, Corneille wrote a very personal version of *Medée* in which he drew from the Senecan presentation of physical torment in the dying Hercules in *Hercules Oetaeus* for the poisoning of Creon and Creusa in order to create a strong emotional effect for Medea. Ronald Tobin, "*Medée* and the Hercules Tradition in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Romance Notes* 8, no. 1 (Autumn 1966): 67–68.
167 Ill., *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 8 (1931): 57, fig. 9. The pose is also found in one of Rubens's copies after a Stimmer woodcut. Frits Lugt, "Rubens and Stimmer," *Art Quarterly* 6 (1943): 108, fig. 10.
168 The drawing's subject has been a point of controversy throughout much of the century. Evers, *Rubens und Sein Werk*, vol. 2, 131–33, pl. 33 first attributed the drawing to Rubens, naming it a *Death of a Martyr*. Burchard and d'Hulst, *Rubens Drawings*,

vol. 1, 66, later labeled it a *Porcia Proving Her Courage* and dated it to c. 1611–12. Panofsky made the identification as Creusa, pointing out that flames are not integral to her depiction. According to Held, the more relevant information is provided by the writhing female body, which suggests the pain endured by the poison which corroded her skin, and the "solicitous actions of the bystanders, some of whom try to soften the pain by pouring water over her arm." Held linked the drawing to Seneca's *Medea* (570ff.) and Horace's *Fifth Episode*. Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, 92–93, under no. 59.

169 *Medea*, 38ff; as cited in Costa, *Seneca*.

170 Jondorf, *French Renaissance Tragedy*, 71–73.

171 For the use of the phrase "la panne imaginative" as related to early modern French tragedy, and the degree to which many artistic acts in this tradition which seem to be imaginative failures represent precisely the contrary, see Jondorf, *French Renaissance Tragedy*, 39; and Françoise Charpentier, *Essais: Montaigne. Analyse Critique* (Paris: Hatier, 1979), 23.

172 Marc Fumaroli discusses the device of isolation in early modern French drama in *Héros et Orateurs: Rhétorique et dramaturgie cornéliennes* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1990).

173 According to Edward Chickering, Seneca's "striking words *Medea superest* (v. 166) and later *Medea nunc sum* (v. 910) are the proud cries of the individual against the world." Chickering, *An Introduction to Octavia praetexta* (Jamaica, NY: Marion Press, 1910), 35.

174 For Seneca's stripping of scenic trappings on the *Medea* stage, and the "unrelenting physicality" of his play, see Berry, "Dramatic Incarnation of Will in Seneca's *Medea*," 3–4. For an illustration of a stage set for tragedy, see for example Sebastiano Serlio's design for a *scena tragica* in his *De architectura libri quinque* (Venice, 1569); ill. Jondorf, *French Renaissance Tragedy*, frontispiece.

175 Rubens showed an interest in graphically "zooming in" and "zooming out" on his subjects, altering their scale, early in his graphic career. He often applied the technique of pictorial cropping, in which he drew the figure so large that it did not fit wholly on the paper, thereby creating the effect that the subject was close to the viewer, as in his drawing of *The Antique Fisherman*, c. 1601–04 (St. Petersburg, The Hermitage). Perceived distance is also at issue in the *Studies for the Suicide of Thisbe* (Paris, Cabinet des Estampes) in which the shift from one large, foreground figure of Thisbe to four smaller figures in the background underscores her distance from the viewer. Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, no. 24, pl. 24.

176 Berry, "Dramatic Incarnation of Will in Seneca's *Medea*," 4.

177 In early seventeenth-century French theater, presenting extreme violence onstage was seen as flouting moral codes of good taste. In Racine, for example, acts of violence were often shown offstage in response to classical codes of *bienséances*. According to Mary Reilly, "Racine's characters and audience alike are repeatedly compelled to visualise mentally scenes of brutality." *Racine: Language, Violence and Power* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005), 65.

178 For mention of this further rhetorical intent in relationship to Racine and, later, Francis Ponge, see Shirley Ann Jordan, *The Art Criticism of Francis Ponge* (London: W.S. Maney & Son, 1994), 62.

179 Van Dyck's *Adam and Eve Expelled from the Garden* (Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet) similarly uses this device.

180 For example, Rembrandt's pupil Nicolaes Maes utilized areas of scribbled wash to suggest the presence of a wood pyre beneath the figure of Isaac in his *Study of a Nude Youth* (London, Victoria and Albert Museum). In a later drawing of the same theme (Milwaukee, Dr. Alfred Bader), he used a blank space, in the context of a messenger angel, to denote the presence or coming of God.

181 D.P. Walker, "Musical Humanism: Part I," in Walker, *Music, Spirit and Language*, ed. Gonk, 2–3; and Claude Palisca, *Baroque Music* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1991), 64–65. See also D.P. Walker, "Musical Humanism in the 16th and early 17th Centuries," *Music Review* 2 (1941), reprinted in *Music, Spirit and Language*, ed. Gonk, 220–26.

182 Mersenne, *Qu. in Gen.* 57, xii, in Walker "Musical Humanism," 225. Walker observes that in the musical realm the idea of modes – including their characteristics and practical effects – was often unclear. Ibid. See also Jondorf, *French Renaissance Drama*, 142–43.

183 For this idea as it pertains to two early Renaissance humanist music theorists also inspired by Quintilian, Johannes Tinctoris, and Franchinus Gauffurius, see Hyun-Ah Kim, *Humanism and the Reform of Sacred Music in Early Modern England: John Merbecke The Orator and* The Booke of Common Praier Noted *(1550)* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Press, 2008), 81–82.

184 According to Erasmus, "The ancients thought that music belonged to the liberal disciplines. But since those numerous musical sounds have such great power to affect human's soul . . . They carefully distinguished the kind of music [musical modes], preferring the Dorian to others. They considered this matter to be of such great importance that it was stipulated by laws that the music which corrupts souls of citizens should not be allowed in the state." Erasmus, *Christiani matrimonii institutio* (Antwerp, 1526), as translated by Kim, *Humanism and Reform of Sacred Music*, 83.

185 Rubens was one of Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga's (r. 1587–1612) favorite artists at the court in Mantua, and Monteverdi his most important composer. Monteverdi moved to Mantua around 1590. He traveled to Florence with the Duke for the 1600 proxy wedding of Henri IV to Marie de' Medici. On the connections between the painter and composer, see H. Ost, "Rubens und Monteverdi in Mantua," in *Rubens Passioni*, eds. Heinen and Thielemann, 110–58.

186 For the adjustment of rhythms for persuasive purposes and the emotive power of rhythm and harmony in Quintilian as well as early modern French literary practice, see Peter France, *Rhetoric and Truth in France; Descartes to Diderot* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 12. On the other end of the affective spectrum, the rhythm of Claude LeJeune's *Le Printemps* (Paris, 1603), for example, was believed to animate the listener and move the spirit in a relatively lighthearted fashion.

187 For *musique mesurée*, see Mersenne, *Quaestiones celeberrimae in Genesim* (Paris, 1623), 57, ii. On the rhetorical implications of this musical tradition, see also Walker, "Musical Humanism: Part I," 2–3; and Palisca, *Baroque Music*, 64–65.

188 The drawing from P.J. Mariette's collection has been traditionally ascribed to Rubens, including most recently in Logan's *The Drawings*, p. 88, fig. 75. Logan lists the subject as *The Death of Dido*. For further attributions to Rubens and a note of Frits Lugt's attribution to Van Dyck (*Inventaire Général*, vol. 1, no. 591), see Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, under no. 24, pp. 75–76.

189 Ovid, *Met.*, 4: 162–63. Müller Hofstede first cited the Ovid connection ("having put the point of the sword under her breast she threw herself upon the iron"), as in the Bowdoin College Museum of Art (Brunswick, ME) version. Müller Hofstede, *Katalog I: Rubens in Italien*, no. 29; and Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, 75, under no. 25.

190 Ill., Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, 76, no. 24 (ill.). See also McGrath, "Rubens, the Gonzaga, and the Adoration of the Trinity," 214.

191 Ovid's account of Thisbe's pitiable misfortune and tortured death is located in *Met.* IV: 128–66. On the poetic question of Dido as "scorned woman," see Jennifer Montagu, "'Ut Poesis Pictura'?: Dido and the Artists," in *A Woman Scorn'd: Responses to the Dido Myth*, ed. Michael Burden (London: Faber, 1998), 131–49.

192 D.P. Walker, "Eternity and the Afterlife," in *Music, Spirit and Language*, ed. Gonk, 244. Plato, for example, wrote of "incurable great souls" who due to acts of wickedness, like murder, were thrown for eternity into the boiling lake of mud of Tartarus. *Timaeus* (37D) and *Phaedo* (113 E). According to Walker, many medieval students of the classical tradition believed that these wicked souls experienced their eternal punishment wholly in their time. This was especially a concern of Thomas Aquinas, who wrote of their unending successive torments (*Summa Th.*, I,q.x.,a,iii.). Ibid.

193 Otto van Veen, *Amorum Emblemata figurs aeneis incisa* (1608; Paris: Aux Amateurs des Livres, 1989), 200–201.

194 Jondorf, *French Renaissance Tragedy*, 142–43.

195 For Medea's reasoned side, see Arcellaschi, *Médée dans le Théâtre Latin*, 396.

196 Abstraction was often used as a Stoic device, including in invocations of Medea. Ibid., 372–73.
197 Comte de Caylus, "Lecture on Drawings," 322–23.
198 Arcellaschi, *Médée dans le Théâtre Latin*, 372–73.
199 Seneca (v. 819); Arcellaschi, *Médée dans le Théâtre Latin*, 366–67.
200 Sanderson, *Graphice*, 34.

4 Figuring Eloquence

The *Kneeling Man* and Rubens's Construction of the Robust Male Nude[1]

> It is then certaine, that an extraordinary force of Art sheweth it selfe most in an extraordinary argument, so loveth the best skill alwayes to busie it selfe about the best matter.
>
> Franciscus Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 1638 (III.v.9)[2]

The Boijmans Drawing and Rubens's Treatment of the Robust Male Nude

Rubens once famously stated his talent and preference for painting "big" subjects to "small" ones. By this, he likely referred to the *type* and relative *importance* of his grand, narrative paintings as much as to their physical size. Rubens was nothing if not a confident history painter in the classically inspired, Albertian tradition of *istoria*. Largely shunning still life and descriptive landscape painting, he preferred working in the grand manner tradition of large-scale, narrative paintings drawn from the Bible, ancient history, and mythology to what were then considered "lesser" genres, absent the human figure. By extension, he also fashioned himself first and foremost a figural artist, and especially early in his career, of the enlivened, sculptural male nude. Often leaving still life, landscape, and staffage details to well-trained assistants and collaborators, he jealously guarded the design and painting of human forms and their meaningful interactions – that most important, difficult part of art described by Leon Battista Alberti in his Book II of *On Painting* (1435) – usually for his own hand. These figures, and the many drawings he executed in preparation for them, including the monumental study of a robust, kneeling male nude in the Rotterdam, Boijman Van Beuningen collection, c. 1609 (Plate 30), provided the life and one of the chief interests of his art. Eminently alterable, they offer crucial interpretative keys to the content of some of his most important early commissions. As Franciscus Junius – a contemporary of Rubens's whose ideas may have influenced, and been influenced by, Rubens's art[3] – framed the issue, this almost certainly constituted an essentially *poetic* and *rhetorical* enterprise undertaken by a studious and laboring "Artificer" who applied judicious choice and innate wit to construct a well-ordered and coherent figural statement worthy of the ancients, especially Seneca and Quintilian.[4]

Rubens's robust male type generally features substantial muscles, especially in the torso, thighs, and back, bent, active limbs, and often a ruddy complexion with thick black hair and raised eyebrows. Versions of this type constitute the figural stars of

some of Rubens's most important early commissions and oil sketches, including the *Adoration of the Magi*, 1609 (Madrid, Prado; Plate 31), the Antwerp *Raising of the Cross*, 1610 (Plate 7), and the highly rhetorical *Prometheus Bound*, 1611–12 (Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art).[5] Numerous original and copied drawings of the male nude related to these compositions by Rubens or his pupils, in whole or in part, are still extant, with many more presumed lost or destroyed.[6] These often take the form of lively pen-and-ink *écorchés*, full-length figural studies of the strong, male body, and studies after particular body parts, especially backs, torsos, arms, and legs often viewed from oblique and unusual angles (Plate 32). Rubens executed most of these drawings during his time in Italy and just after his return to Antwerp when his workshop became the largest and busiest in northern Europe. Such works speak powerfully to the predominance of the male nude – and especially the strong male nude – in Rubens's practice, especially during and after his critical time in Rome.

These designs occupied a privileged place in Rubens's sphere. Rubens apparently stored many of his figural drawings of the male nude in large folios in a private, locked studio (his so-called Cantoor) in his Antwerp workshop on the Wapper for future consultation or use. Willem Panneels and Anthony van Dyck are known to have copied or emulated a number of them, evidenced in many of the Copenhagen Cantoor drawings that repeat or bear close similarities to Rubens's designs.[7] Based on the inventory of Rubens's belongings taken after his death (the so-called *Specification*), Rubens also owned a number of works representing the male nude by some of his favorite Italian Renaissance figural artists, likely including at least two red chalk figural drawings by Michelangelo.[8]

The athletic, robust, male nude also constituted a subject of keen philosophical speculation in Rubens's circles. The artist's admirers Franciscus Junius and Edward Norgate both wrote about the virile nude in classical painterly terms in *De Pictura Veterum* (The Painting of the Ancients), and *The Art of Limning*, respectively. Even Rubens – a painter who wrote copious epistles on philosophical, literary, and diplomatic issues to humanist friends, but who mostly refrained from writing about his art – wrote short treatises on antique statuary and the human figure while in Italy. Two texts that once formed part of Rubens's lost Pocketbook are especially important in this regard. These include his lost early treatise, *De figuris humanis* – known today through Charles-Antoine Jombert's late eighteenth-century French transcription (engraved by Pierre Aveline after Rubens's designs) in *La Théorie de la Figure Humaine* (Paris, 1773) – as well as Rubens's early treatise, *De Imitatione Statuarum* (On the Imitation of Antique Statuary), passed down to Roger de Piles by Rubens's nephew Philip.[9] A scattered grouping of autograph sheets and numerous copies also include drawings and inscriptions relating to the robust nude. Today, these form part of the so-called MS Johnson (London, Courtauld Gallery) and the MS Ganay (formerly Paris, Marquis de Ganay) associated with Rubens's theoretical studies on the human figure from the lost Pocketbook.[10]

While much of the scholarship on Rubens's treatment of the male nude long has focused on the formal and rhetorical roles that Rubens's monumental figural drawings, like the Boijmans sheet, played in preparation for major commissions, far less light has been shone on the conceptual role these drawings played in helping Rubens to create reusable and ultimately *meaningful* motifs for his wider practice. To help fill this gap, this study examines the theoretical and formal basis on which Rubens constructed the *Kneeling Man* as a theoretical type or demonstration of an ideal form

of figural and artistic virility designed to embody key Neostoic values and mirror the artist's own virtuoso athleticism in drawing. A model of emulative complexity, the drawing betrays itself as a highly poetic construction that served Rubens's larger artistic practice by providing a key motif that formally and conceptually undergirded some of his most important paintings around 1610.

One critical question that first needs to be addressed is whether Rubens used live models or artistic models – or indeed, both or neither – in his figural works, especially for his nude studies in black or red chalk like his *Study of a Nude Man on His Back* (*Prometheus*), c. 1610 (Paris, Louvre; Figure 4.1) that are not altogether obviously derived from a single work of antique sculpture.[11] Still today, the literature on some of Rubens's most well-known drawings in this sphere, including his *Kneeling Man* (Plate 30) and *Nude Man Seen Partly From Behind*, c. 1616–17 (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen), seems to tilt in favor of his use of the live studio model.[12] However, little solid evidence exists that Rubens regularly drew after posed nudes (including in his own figural treatises or notes), or encouraged his disciples to do so. There is also a curious dearth of theoretical writing in Rubens's humanist circles in Antwerp on the subject. Franciscus Junius, the most important Flemish humanist writer on painting in Rubens's day, opted for a decidedly rhetorical, classical approach to rendering the virile male nude in *The Painting of the Ancients*,[13] in clear opposition to a range of early seventeenth-century Dutch writers and practioners, including Samuel van Hoogstraten and Willem Goeree, who vigorously advocated that artists and their pupils draw the nude after life in the studio. Van Hoogstraten described Academies, or drawing schools, where students would "draw male or female nudes from life beside the warm stoves," while Goeree advised students to draw after the live model one or two times per week under the guidance of a good master.[14]

But, some still believe that Rubens almost certainly executed some of his most important drawings of the male nude, including the Boijmans sheet, after life – an observation witnessed most often in museum catalogue entries. There is good reason for this given the look of many of these drawings, including Rubens's *Study of a Crouched Man, Lifting a Heavy Object*, c. 1609–15 (Paris, Louvre; Figure 4.2) and *Study for the Figure of Christ on the Cross*, c. 1610–15 (London, British Museum; Figure 4.3). Wide-eyed, with unusually lively, often active, poses, the figures graphically bespeak a particularly persuasive brand of naturalism further enhanced by their execution in black chalk emphasizing the suppleness of living, human flesh. As in later academic nude studies of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Rubens also usually drew his subjects large and alone on a sheet, as if he were studying them from close proximity. Many of these studies, including the Louvre and British Museum sheets, also lack obvious relationships to earlier artistic models, in contrast with some of Rubens's enlivened studies clearly emulated after antique statuary, such as *Two Studies of a Boy after the Spinario*, c. 1601–02 (London, British Museum; inv. T, 41.1) and *Hercules Victorious Over Discord*, c. 1615–21 (Plate 22). Together, these factors may still contribute to the often implicit, but powerful, narrative that Rubens found himself swept up in the relatively new practice of drawing nudes from personal observation as a means of injecting heightened naturalism into his subjects, particularly after his return to Antwerp from Rome. A rising interest in observing and describing the local, natural world in the Lowlands after circa 1610, including in Rubens's own landscape practice, helps to feed such conclusions.[15]



Figure 4.1 Peter Paul Rubens, *Study of a Nude Man on His Back* (*Prometheus*), c. 1610, black chalk with white heightening, 550 × 426 mm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (inv. 20207-recto). Photo: Christophe Chavan © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 4.2 Peter Paul Rubens, *Study of a Crouched Man, Lifting a Heavy Object*, c. 1609–15, black chalk with white heightening. Credit: Paris, Musée du Louvre (inv. 20218). Photo: Michèle Bellot © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.

However, the prime sticking point for this argument is that it assumes Rubens temporarily set aside his long-standing commitments to *disegno*, *Idea*, and the rule of the intellect in favor of pursuing a more empirically and descriptively minded praxis, *particularly in the most crucial, humanist artistic sphere of the human figure*. It simply does not fully square that Rubens – the self-professed, erudite, humanist draftsman who actively and consistently celebrated imbibing the lessons and models of the ancients through *disegno*, particularly during and after his time in Rome – would execute his most important figural drawings in a careful, descriptive manner far more characteristic of the Dutch tradition exemplified by Jacob Adrianesz. Backer's *Seated Female Nude*, c. 1650 (Cambridge, MA, Fogg Art Museum; Figure 4.4), and many of his contemporaries. In this context, this case study focuses on a seemingly naturalistic rendering of the robust male nude in order to demonstrate how thoroughly imbued the figure is with Rubens's characteristic classical and rhetorical concerns, and the extent to which this figural type, especially in drawing, was implicated in Rubens's stated attempts to invigorate his art by clothing strong, classically inspired ideas in fitting formal garb – that is, in fashioning his own rhetorically inspired body of eloquence at the foundation of his art.

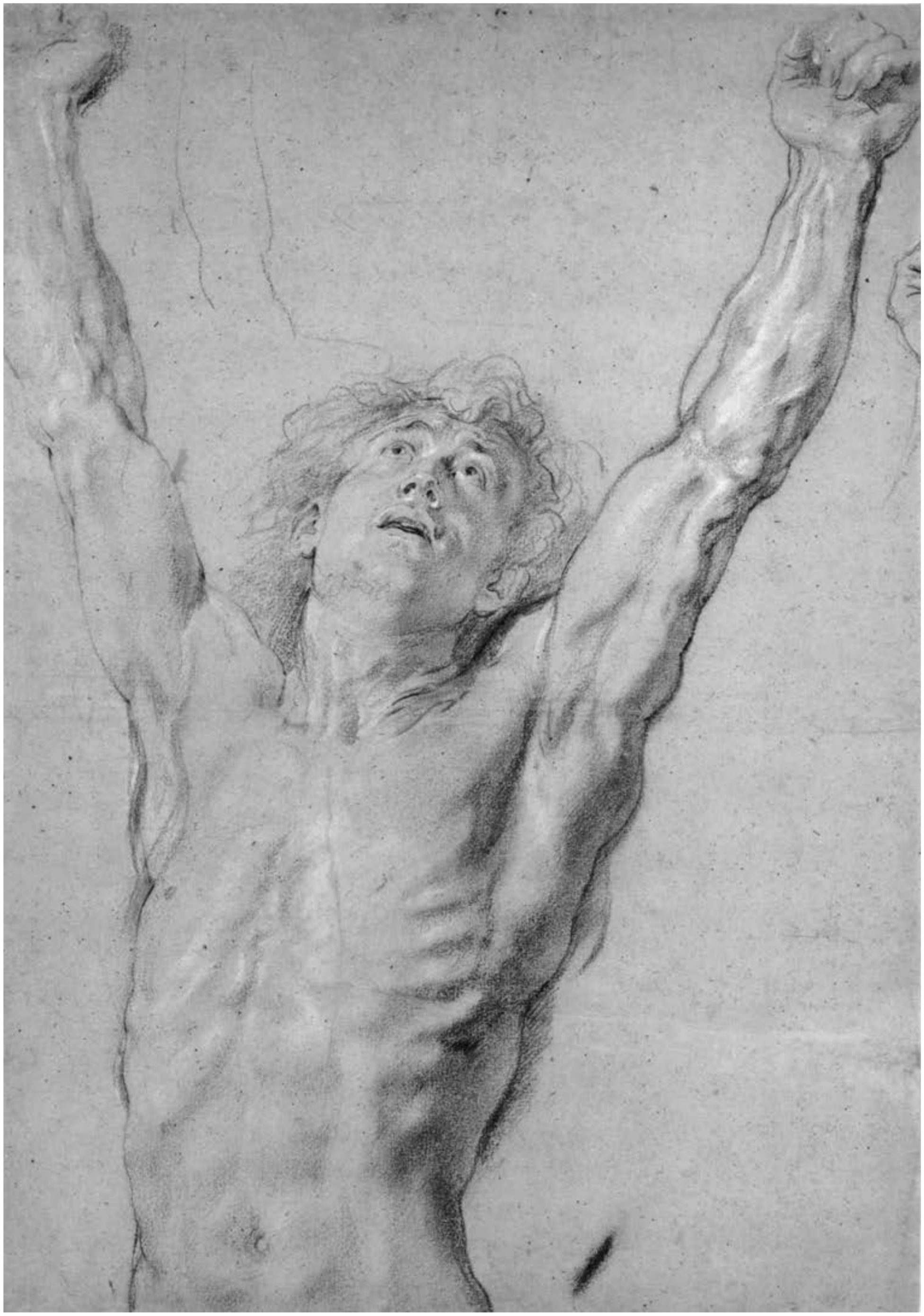


Figure 4.3 Peter Paul Rubens, *Study for the Figure of Christ on the Cross*, black chalk with white heightening, c. 1610–15, 527 × 370 mm. British Museum, London (inv. PD Oo,9.26). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

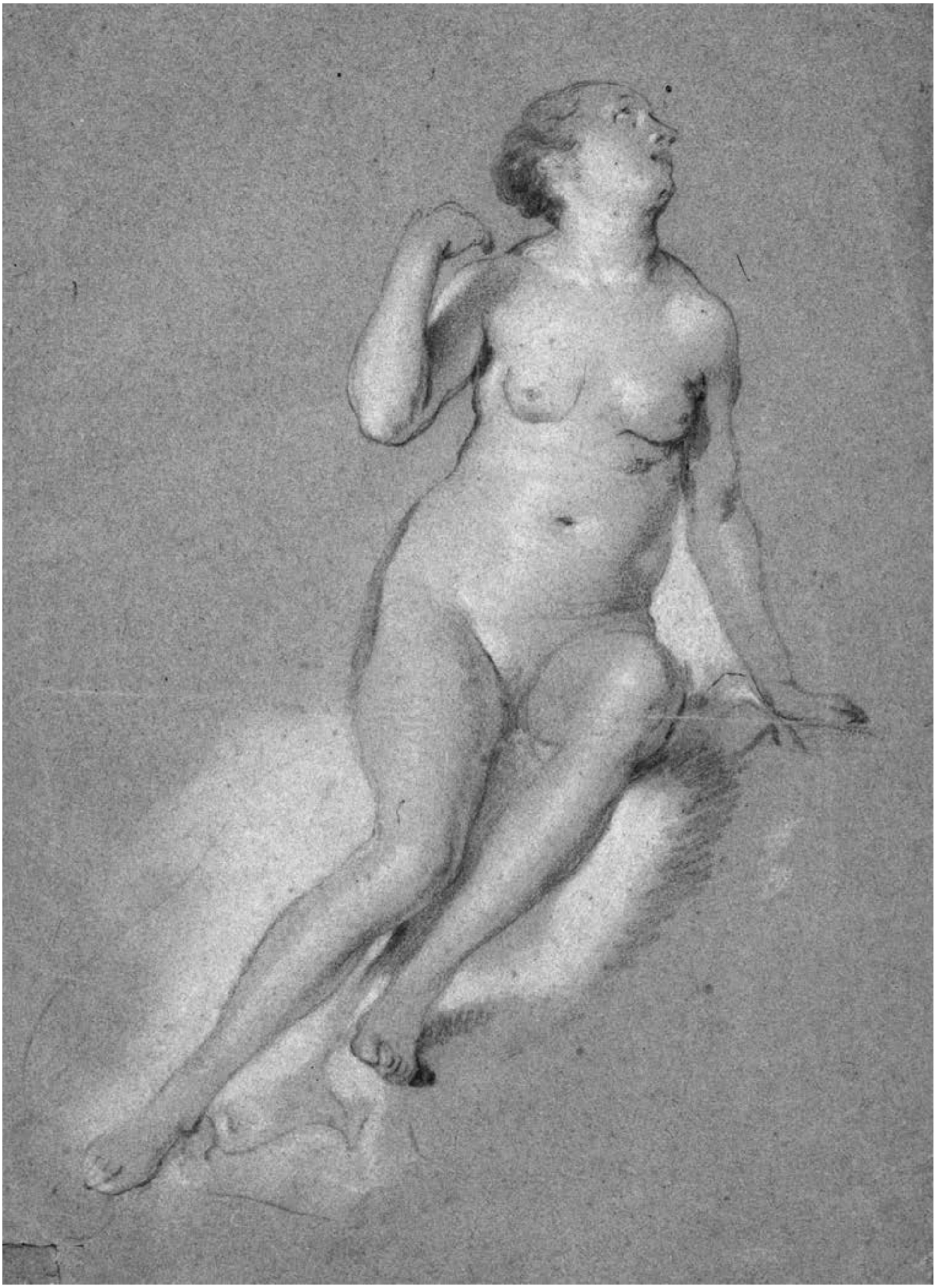


Figure 4.4 Jacob Adriaensz. Backer, *Seated Female Nude* (*Study for Venus*), c. 1650, black and white chalk on blue antique paper, 323 × 232 mm. Credit: The Maida and George Abrams Collection, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, Gift of George S. Abrams in appreciation of William Robinson's services as Curator of Drawings, 1988–2013, 2013.170. Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College.

The case study presented here focuses on one of Rubens's best-known versions of the monumental, robust male nude: the so-called *Kneeling Man*, c. 1609 (Plate 30).[16] As this case study will argue, the drawing breaks the first rule of life drawing: a correspondence to other works of art. Esteemed classical and classically inspired models and precepts reside at its conceptual core. In keeping with Rubens's Quintilian-inspired statement in his early treatise, *De figuris humanis* (later transcribed by Jombert in *La Théorie de la Figure Humaine*), that the ideal male figure should be made "serious, strong, robust, compact, and athletic" (*grave, forte, robustum, compactum & athleticum*),[17] the drawing constitutes an extraordinary, head-to-toe, visual argument for a contemporary standard of male robustness writ emphatically on a large and impressive scale. Emphasizing rhetorical concerns seen elsewhere in his graphic oeuvre, and dependent upon an eclectic mixing and transformation of judicious models from antiquity and the Renaissance, the Boijmans sheet graphically embodies Rubens's sustained ideological concerns with pure, Herculean force, incipient movement, and male virility in a period when he was still guided by the ideas of great classical models, and the writings of Seneca, Quintilian, Lomazzo, and Lipsius, among others.[18] As Junius wrote in a figural context praising such extraordinary and forceful arguments in art, "so loveth the best skill alwayes to busy itself about the best matter."[19]

Unlike contemporary Dutch draftsmen of the Rembrandt school who produced a sizeable graphic stock of female nudes, Rubens, like Michelangelo, typically executed drawings of the sculptural male body.[20] Extant drawings by Rubens demonstrating this interest are, for instance, the scattered theoretical sheets associated with Rubens's lost Pocketbook, including sheets from the MS Johnson (London, The Courtauld Gallery),[21] a number of "enlivened" copies after Roman sculpture copying esteemed Greek models such as the Farnese Hercules and the Laocoön (Figure 3.15), a series of muscular, anatomical studies derived from prints after Vesalius, copies after Michelangelo's and Leonardo's nudes, drawings of sculptural human types, c. 1608–10, and a small body of more linear nudes from c. 1615–20. Other early studies of the robust male nude must also have surely existed, as numerous Cantoor copies suggest. What unites many of these studies is that they, like the Boijmans sheet, often feature a monumental male nude, placed in an active pose, usually viewed closely from an oblique or unusual viewpoint, executed in black or red chalk, often on a large-scale beige or cream sheet. While varying in form and detail, together they underscore Rubens's insistent concern in his early career with persuasively rendering solid and muscular male forms that often appear to move on the page.

The Boijmans drawing depicts a lone adult male nude endowed with substantial musculature, kneeling and bending to lift a presumably heavy object, viewed obliquely from the rear. Measuring a monumental 520 × 390 mm and drawn to fill the page, the figure looms large and imposing, appearing as if in close proximity to the viewer. Set chronologically between Rubens's more heavy-handed early figural studies and copies after antique statuary, and his more refined, linear figures of the latter half of the second decade,[22] the Boijmans drawing represents one of Rubens's finest and most important treatments of the robust male nude in drawing. It has been particularly connected to a rough and ruddy figure carrying gifts at lower right in the Madrid *Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1609–10 (Plate 31), a related oil sketch (Vienna), and numerous other versions of the popular Adoration theme, including a later, painted version of the composition in Lyon (Musée des Beaux-Arts).[23] To a lesser extent, the



Figure 4.5 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek*, 1615–18, oil on wood transferred to canvas, 201 × 246 cm. Credit: Musée des Beaux-Arts, Caen, France/Bridgeman Images.

motif has also been connected to Rubens's *Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek*, c. 1615–18, now housed in Caen (Figure 4.5) that includes a figure at bottom right that obviously borrows from Rubens's contemporaneous *Study of a Crouched Man, Lifting a Heavy Object* (Figure 4.2).[24] Regardless of the painted works with which the drawings are often connected, these sheets also make independent statements befitting the artistic energy with which Rubens endowed them.

The traditional dating of the Boijmans sheet to c. 1609 reflects the widely held belief that Rubens executed the Rotterdam drawing as a preparatory study for the Madrid *Adoration* which was originally commissioned by burgomaster Nicolas Rockox for the Hall of States (Statenkamer) of the Antwerp town hall, c. 1608–09.[25] Rockox ordered this commission to celebrate the successful negotiations surrounding the Twelve Years' Truce (1609–21), advanced by the rulers of the Spanish Netherlands, Archduke Albert of Austria and Isabella Clare Eugenia. This landmark truce, negotiated in the Antwerp assembly chamber, has long been credited for the cessation in the deadly fighting between Spain and the Netherlands that started with the Dutch Revolt of 1568. As chief diplomat and court artist to Albert and Isabella, Rubens actively supported the Twelve Years' Truce, likely believing it to be the harbinger of renewed prosperity in an otherwise declining Antwerp which had suffered

for decades from war and the Spanish blockade of its commercial shipping artery, the Scheldt River. In many ways, the prominent kneeling robust man of the Boijmans sheet and the Madrid *Adoration* held the promise, in visual form, of this seminal historical moment when Antwerp was thought to hold the potential to regain its recently diminished status as Europe's chief economic, intellectual, and artistic powerhouse.

The inspiration for Rubens's newly dynamic kneeling man has been the subject of significant consideration. Given the figure's dynamic pose, unusually alert countenance, and lively, active demeanor, it was once proposed that the Boijmans figure and Van Dyck's later version of the subject, c. 1617 (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen; Plate 33), were both drawn after the same live model in Rubens's studio.[26] However, this is a problematic assertion given that Rubens's drawing, dated in keeping with the related c. 1609–10 *Adoration* commission, is usually dated some eight years before Van Dyck's version. If the traditional dating of the two sheets stands, the disparate chronology makes it impossible that the two artists studied the same model at the same time from the same vantage point. In light of striking formal similarities between Rubens's drawing and Van Dyck's later version, it is also highly unlikely that Van Dyck used a live model, later positioned in the same pose as Rubens's figure, at all. With a number of formal features rooted in Rubens's own version – notably, the angle of the man's pose, and the similar manner of indicating the underlying left hip bone and abbreviated right leg – Van Dyck's drawing arguably constitutes a translation of Rubens's Boijmans design, rather than representing a fully independent study after life.[27] By extension, this raises the distinct possibility that a far more characteristic, emulative approach may have similarly been at play in Rubens's earlier drawing too, and that Van Dyck essentially followed in Rubens's graphic footsteps by emulating one of his master's own designs. Here, it seems that the preternaturally talented pupil followed (or competed with?) his master's methods and model – and even his concept – to the point that his figure seems even more persuasively drawn after life from a posed model than Rubens's.

Still, the possible involvement of a living model in one, if not both, drawings – perhaps as a way to inform or update otherwise classically inspired art with last-minute observations from nature – cannot be entirely ruled out.[28] According to Hans Vlieghe, male nudes sometimes posed in Rubens's *atelier* for both the master and his pupils,[29] presumably in order to capture remarkable poses and produce a stock of strong, naturalistic figures for Rubens's painting practice. Arnout Balis also believes Rubens may have used live models, especially for "large-format drawings,"[30] while Christopher Brown argued that Van Dyck used posed studio models in drawings like *A Seated Man, Leaning Backwards*, c. 1618–21 (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen). According to Brown, the model steadied himself using a hanging rope or sling, attached to the ceiling, for support.[31] The choice of chalk for the drawings also historically related to life drawing in early modern Europe. In both early modern Italian and northern workshops, artists preferred using black (and sometimes red) chalk for copying full-length nudes *ad vivum*, in part because of the ease with which chalk could be corrected, and its useful properties in rendering subtle anatomical modulations especially in the skin and muscles when carefully smudged. Dutch workshops turned out many such full-length black and red chalk life drawings by the 1640s,[32] with Samuel van Hoogstraten singling out chalk as the most appropriate medium for rendering "entire nudes from the life."[33]

In his second, revised, edition of the *Art of Limning* (1648–50), the Englishman Edward Norgate described the relatively new studio practice of drawing after the nude, wherein Italian and French artists positioned themselves around a posed muscular male nude for hours in a room in order to diligently copy the figure's anatomy and musculature. The goal of this graphic practice, according to Norgate, was to pictorially capture the appearance of the live model as closely as possible, and by extension, demonstrate the painter's consummate skill, or at least pretensions to it, in naturalistically rendering the difficult human anatomy in all its varied and connected parts. Norgate's description generally captures the type of *ad vivum* drawing sometimes proposed for Rubens's and Van Dyck's *Kneeling Man* sheets. In his words:

> There is yet in Italy and France amonge the Liefhebbers another way of Designing, that is by frequenting the Academy which is a *Roome* where in the middle a hired long-sided Porter or such like is to be set, stand, or hang naked sometimes in a posture for two or three howres. This fellow is surrounded by a number of Painters, who make him their Model, and drawe him as he appears to every one. By this practice, they pretend to greate skill in the naked *Anatomy* and *Muscles* of the Body and other eminences appearing in the Life . . .[34]

Striking for its specificity, Norgate's account highlights the increasing use of, and taste for, live models in the early seventeenth century both north and south of the Alps as a way to demonstrate painterly acumen in imitating nature as observed in its presence. The rising popularity of this practice seems borne out by many studies after the live male (and sometimes even female) nude in early modern northern, especially Dutch, drawings, including many by Rembrandt and his workshop, and the later codification of this practice in French academic circles in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as illustrated in innumerable drawn and engraved *académies* by Charles-Nicolas Cochin (French, 1715–90) and others.[35] But life drawing and the use of artistic models were not necessarily viewed as mutually exclusive or conflicting practices in the early seventeenth century, especially in humanist circles. According to David Jaffé, "One wonders if Norgate [wa]s recalling Elsheimer's *Minerva (Melancholy)*, then in the Arundel collection in which a live model is shown hanging by his hands in the same pose that the artist adopted for the protagonist in his Edinburgh *Stoning of St. Stephen*."[36] Moreover, in one other study of strong male nudes (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum; Figure 4.6), the kneeling figure at left has been linked to a classical kneeling figure engaged in sacrificial rites in an antique garden façade relief depicting a ritual sacrifice of an ox (Rome, Villa Medici; Plate 34), thus suggesting that classical, if highly disguised, emulation was at work in at least some Rubens drawings that otherwise appear to be executed after life.[37]

Moreover, the remarks that follow Norgate's description of studio life drawing further complicate the issue in a way that supports a *rhetorical* understanding of specifically *Rubens*'s figural approach. In addition to providing further evidence for Rubens's early knowledge of life drawing and its popularity in Italo-Flemish circles, the larger account of Norgate's visit to Rubens's studio is also significant for what it reveals about Rubens's likely beliefs about life drawing's relative inefficacy, as early as his time in Italy, in light of his larger artistic ambitions.[38] Norgate continued:

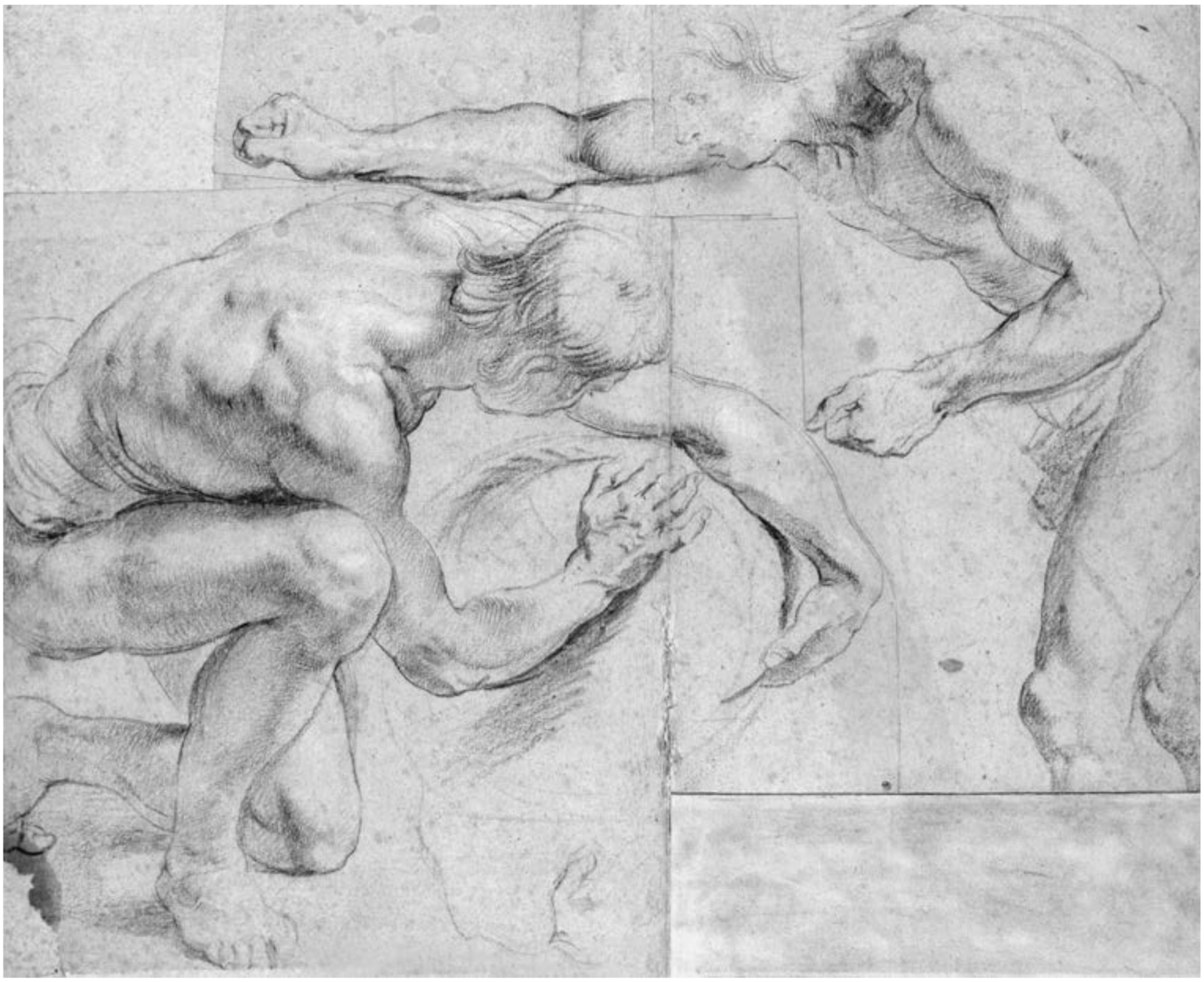


Figure 4.6 Peter Paul Rubens, *Study of Two Half-Naked Men* (*Study for the Martyrdom of St. Lauretius*), black chalk, 445 × 540 mm. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (inv. 1925/1863). Credit: Photo: Hans Thorwid/Nationalmuseum.

> But S[i]r Peter Paul *Rubens* told mee that at his being in Italy, divers of his nation had followed the Academy course for 20 yeares together *to little or noe purpose* [*my emphasis*]. Besides these dull, tedious, and heavy wayes doe over presupose *Animam in digitis*, a man whose soule hath taken up his lodgings in his fingers ends, and means to sacrifice his spirits and time for a Life and a day in this study only, which I suppose noe part of your meaning, but rather to make this study subservient to others of more value and estimation.[39]

This important account highlights Rubens's first-hand knowledge of the more humble beginnings of the studio tradition of life drawing "at his being in Italy" (i.e., sometime between 1600 and 1608), and Rubens's recognition that "divers" of his fellow Flemish painters there, presumably also working in Rome, had already been drawing like this for some "20 yeares" (i.e., by the late sixteenth century). Even more strikingly by Norgate's account, Rubens believed his fellow Flemings had pursued the practice of drawing after life ("the Academy course") for so long "*to little or noe purpose*." Ultimately, Norgate's account highlights the artist's eventual dismissal of the slavish drawing of academies as a waste of time and effort given their stifling, deadening

effect on his art.[40] In Norgate's retelling, such transcriptive drawing implied for Rubens the "dull, tedious, and heavy ways" of pupils or lesser artists who by their adherence to the outward look of their model presumably undervalued humanist commitments to artistic intellect and invention, and the expressive potential of *Ars*. In sum, if we are to trust Norgate's compelling account, Rubens may well have viewed drawing after the new live model as "subservient to others [studies] of more value and estimation," at least by late in his career, but more likely already by his Italian sojourn, before the Boijmans sheet's execution. Regardless, the "other" studies to which Norgate referred were almost certainly classically inspired sculptural models which Rubens vociferously championed in Italy, collected in Antwerp, and about which he seems to have most cared all along.[41]

If classical models remained of concern throughout Rubens's career, it was almost certainly their underlying ideas that Rubens most appreciated and wished to embody in drawing. Earlier, in his first edition of the *Art of Limning* (1627–28), Norgate outlined the *ideas* and emulative values that provided a basis for a right representation of the male nude. Having recently visited Rubens's workshop, Norgate – almost certainly prompted in part by Rubens's own practice – declared:

> Mennes Bodyes (I meane the Nakeds) are to bee made Stronge, Robustious and Vigerouse, the Muskles and Sinewes are to be strongly and exactly followed, alloting to every Artery his right and due place, which to doe with Judgement and understandinge, is a study that may take upp a hole life . . . How often have I seene, and pittied our Neophite Paynters that dayly drawe after that excellent, and Antique Statue, of *Hercules*, in *Cardinall Farinezes* pallas at *Rome*, with what indefatiguable dilligence doe they strive to come shorte, of that which at the best came farr shorte of Nature.[42]

Norgate's unequivocal declaration, "Mennes Bodies (I meane the Nakeds) are to bee made Stronge, Robustious and Vigerouse," hints at a more poetic aim underlying drawings such as the Boijmans sheet – that is, the goal of literally embodying classically inspired values grounded in the heroic, athletic male through a fundamentally rhetorical, emulative approach to the male body. In this conceptually driven equation for how to draw a right male nude ("the Nakeds"), Norgate championed the classically inspired virtues of male strength and hot-blooded liveliness for the "correct" rendering of the male nude, and the roles that *judicio* and study should play in its execution. He also acknowledged the pitfalls of slavishly relying on excellent, yet insufficient, models that already fell short of nature to achieve these ends. As Norgate clarified, inscribing classical virtues on the body – of the sort of (male) virile robustness we have already seen characterized Quintilian's ideal oratory, Lipsius's "virile" epistles, and indeed Rubens's own views in his Imitation treatise – was valued in Rubens's humanist circles, and further related to Rubens's rhetorical efforts to construct models of male heroic virtue that could carry deep political implications as well.[43] Still, at the same time, these bodies were evidently meant to *seem* natural too. Echoing his remarks about the "dull, tedious, and heavy" effects of studying nudes *ad vivum* mentioned in his reported discussion with Rubens, Norgate reiterated the dangers of copying anything too diligently or for too long lest it threatened to produce a deadening effect that countered the Italian Renaissance goal of truth to, and the enlivening of, *Natura* through *Ars*.



Figure 4.7 Pier Francesco Alberti, *Accademia* (*The Painters' Studio*) *in Rome*, etching, c. 1615, 411 × 527 mm. (RCIN 402868; GLAHA 52161). Credit: Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow.

Thus, the lingering (and perhaps ultimately unanswerable) question of whether or not Rubens ever used a live model for the Boijmans sheet, or for other related figural drawings, threatens to obscure a more salient point about his practice: namely, that Rubens selected his models – whether from art (surely) or from life (possibly), or both – for what they could uniquely add to the expression of an underlying idea, and ultimately to the Renaissance goal of imitating and enlivening nature by surpassing it through the superior contributions of emulation, innate wit (*ingenium*), and imagination. If Rubens practiced life drawing at all, he almost certainly did not conceive of it as an end in itself, but rather as yet another small slice in a much more complicated, "hybrid" approach to models grounded in the Horatian dictum, *ut pictura poesis*, and Senecan eclecticism – or, the imbibing and transformation of the best and most apt visual models, necessarily mixed with artistic invention and imagination, to imitate and surpass Nature through a poetic sensibility grounded in the lessons of the ancients.[44] Indeed, Pier Francesco Alberti's (Italian, 1584–c. 1638) etching of the *Accademia* in Rome (Figure 4.7) illustrates that the workshop models for Italian-inspired humanist draftsmen and painters committed to Renaissance *disegno* were eclectic, yet still carefully chosen. They ranged from classical sculpture, often studied in fragments, to Renaissance painting, drawing, and prints, to human anatomical models including skeletons and cadavers, to geometry.

The process of drawing together and transforming classical models and observations from nature into a new, inventive honey through individual judgment (*judicio*) in the service of *Idea* was at the heart of an already esteemed humanist project in Renaissance workshops that increasingly considered observed Nature as a viable, and sometimes necessary, model. Raphael stated his own commitment to these values in his famous 1514 letter to Baldassare Castiglione about his practice of mixing artifice, great models, and observed nature in the creation of new, ideal figures, particularly related to his Galatea in the Villa Farnesina, Rome.[45] As his letter suggests, this occasionally meant turning to the relatively new and growing practice of making direct observations after Nature for details or characteristics absent in other models.[46] Much as Rubens looked to certain features in the "Capaio ladies" in his *Embarkment of Marie de' Medici* that he "could not find elsewhere," Raphael's interest in live models must also thus be seen as part and parcel of a larger humanist strategy for selecting, combining, and transforming the best models with the goals of updating and surpassing nature through *Idea* and visual artifice.[47] In Rubens's case, using observed nature was often the last step in the creative process. According to Glück and Haberditzl, Rubens sometimes checked his designs in the later stages of execution against models in nature, retouching them when and where needed to achieve a more naturalistic effect.[48] Joshua Reynolds, whose writing in the late eighteenth century owed important debts to Rubens and Junius's *The Painting of the Ancients*, even observed that "earlier" masters often first conceived and then drew and painted their subjects, commonly retouching them from life.[49] As Roger de Piles seems to have observed in a similar vein, finishing touches (*touches*) helped Rubens produce particularly natural, lively effects (*effets*) in his art, especially in his landscapes.[50]

Thus, while Rubens likely knew of the practice of life drawing by the date of the Boijmans sheet's execution, and perhaps even engaged in it at times for targeted ends, there is also good reason to believe that the live model would have represented just one additional, if newer, component in an already variegated repertoire of artistic models. After all, to suggest that Rubens turned his back so wholly and quickly on the classical models that were so important to his Roman period – especially in the crucial realm of the human figure – represents a far bolder claim than to suggest that he borrowed ideas or "moments" from his visual world and incorporated them into a more complicated, emulative assemblage geared towards *ideas*. For example, in the Boijmans drawing, he perhaps borrowed a kneeling pose (such as the one in the Villa Medici antique relief) to suggest a particularly lively, active posture; the position of a muscular, lifted arm to suggest heavy lifting; the bend of a long, bony toe or the folds of the underside of the foot to suggest the impact of substantial weight, or force, from above; or even the graceful line of a calf muscle to demonstrate the quality and athletic form of this smooth, anatomical part, in its proper place. Each would have allowed Rubens to modernize and heighten the natural effect of a work otherwise grounded in a more perfect, classicizing vision of the virtuous human body. As Jan Stradanus's late sixteenth-century engraving of a northern artist's studio (Figure 4.8) illustrates, mature master painters of grand-scale *istoria* – unlike their pupils – were thought to need only their mind's eye and skilled hand to successfully execute their most important works.

One point is certain, though: the best classical models and their underlying ideas continued to feed Rubens's approach to the human figure throughout his career, yet most consciously and insistently during the first two decades of the seventeenth



Figure 4.8 Jan Stradanus (van der Straet), *Northern Painter's Studio*, engraving, c. 1580–1605, 204 × 271 mm. British Museum, London (inv. 1948,0410.4.204). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

century in the wake of his first-hand study of classical models in Italy. Once again, Rubens's early treatise on antique statuary illuminates the centrality of classical sculpture as fundamental models in his art. As Rubens clarified in *De Imitatione*, brute imitation of these models was to be avoided at all costs given that it produced a heavy, deadening effect.[51] In his view, rote copyists of antique sculpture risked capturing the rigid stasis of cold, hard marble ("matter"), rather than the far more important underlying idea ("form") of the classical sculptural model. As in the classical rhetorical tradition of Quintilian, copying a model signaled for Rubens the documentary interests and more or less skilled competencies of an obedient pupil more concerned with capturing the seen world, than with demonstrating the prodigious intellect and invention of a humanist master prizing *capriccio* (originality), judiciousness (*judicio*), innate wit (*ingenium*), and classically inspired values above all.[52] In sum, narrowly characterizing Rubens as an artist interested in drawing after the live male nude *tout court* not only contradicts much of what we otherwise know about him as an artist, but also offers an implicit critique of his figural designs precisely in the locus where it would have most surely stung his humanist design sensibilities.

The more likely, and more characteristic, possibility is that Rubens constructed his figures, including the Boijmans nude, like his Marie de' Medici sirens: through a mixture of invention and apt, available models, guided by the conceptual foundations of Renaissance *disegno*. By extension, artifice would thus also play an important hand,

as it did in one telling folio from his Roman years, in which Rubens directly referred to the central roles that artistic imagination and constructed models he likely studied first-hand in the studio played in constructing an ideal male anatomy. In a somewhat unclear Italian inscription written on a sheet dating from Rubens's Italian period (MS Johnson, fol. 22r; London, Courtauld Institute), Rubens wrote (as transcribed and translated by Michael Jaffé): "A correct way of anatomy – take the bones of a man and fit them well together with an iron stylus and in order to remain . . . one can take those from a boy of about ten years old – then clothe them bit by bit to imitate correct anatomy with feigned muscles which . . . of the body (?) lined and full of well-being (?) . . ."[53] Rubens's original, garbled Italian inscription seems to suggest he advocated making a physical, three-dimensional sculptural model from unusual materials, including the real bones of a ten-year old boy,[54] and then using that as a model for study and a foundation from which he could (re)construct a (new) body on paper through his imagination and *Ars* ("cloth[ing] [the bones] bit by bit to imitate correct anatomy with feigned muscles"). Achieving figural strength and health ("full of well-being") seems to have been keenly at issue for him too in this context.

Generally echoing Norgate's dictum on the correct manner of representing the male nude, Rubens seems to be advising how to construct a "correct" (*vero*), healthy (*per maner rubarazzo*) male sculptural model by clothing "well-fitted" bones with "feigned" muscles and skin. In light of this inscription, Jeffrey Muller proposed that Rubens may have even "constructed his own anatomy models in a technique similar to Vasari's process for making sculptural models."[55] Whether or not he ever constructed or used such a model, the language of Rubens's inscription signals a crucial point about his representational approach to the ideal male: namely, that for Rubens, the best figures were generated from a mixture of well-conceived models, imagination, and artistic invention *and* that classical virtues like strength and well-being played a role in their conceptualization. Thus, while on-the-spot observations of human anatomical models may have played a role in Rubens's graphic figural approach (witness his mention of using the bones of a ten-year-old boy in much the same spirit as using the black hair of the two ladies from the Rue de Verbois), this approach was likely only used when needed for achieving a particular characteristic, pose, or naturalistic effect not found in other available models or his own inventions.

Equally, Rubens's invocation of the sartorial language of bodily clothing in his inscription further indicates he thought about generating his figures theoretically through a constructive process of anatomical layering, *from the inside out*: that is, starting with the bones, and then moving outward to the body's layers of cartilage, muscles, and the final layering of skin. This analytically minded idea had its roots in Leon Battista Alberti who advised Florentine draftsmen to learn to sketch the nude body, including the bone, sinews, and skin beneath the figures' clothes.[56] While Rubens generally refrained from studying human skeletal systems or bones in drawing (contrary to Leonardo's practice in his Anatomical MS A folios in Windsor Castle), numerous early pen-and-ink drawings of enlivened *écorchés* demonstrate the artist's propensity to think in terms of anatomical layers of bone, muscle, and skin. Many of these studies feature flayed, overly muscular bodies that Rubens animated through lively poses and active, engaged limbs. Other related drawings garbed in skin (Plate 32) illustrate Rubens's early practice of graphically clothing highly mobile *écorchés*, often also inspired by classical sculpture, with the apt garb of nudity long associated with

a classical Greek hero or athlete. Drawings such as Rubens's *Anatomical Study of a Nude* (*Reaching Up to the Left*), c. 1606–08 (Ontario, Art Gallery of Ontario; Figure 4.9), and his red chalk studies after Michelangelo's *Libyan Sibyl*, c. 1510–11 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art),[57] further suggest that expressing overall muscular strength and tension – as if all muscles were simultaneously, yet still plausibly, engaged for one impossibly athletic action or movement – was similarly at the conceptual heart of his early approach to the heroic male nude. As in Rubens's rhetorical approach to drawing more generally, the "faces" or surfaces of his figures – here evidenced in his attention to musculature and the clothing of skin over their bones – bore the weight of expressing the artist's most closely held meanings. The *form* of the figure, in the Aristotelian sense Rubens expressed in his Imitation treatise, supplemented by apt models of emulation, provided the essential, underlying framework or skeleton on which his figures were arguably built.

The Boijmans drawing formally reflects this type of layered, architectural approach to the body and an overall concern with extreme, engaged musculature, seen especially in the figure's bent left leg and prominent back. In an often overlooked area of *pentimenti* in the Boijmans bent left leg, Rubens first drew an abbreviated notation of an underlying thigh and hip bone, which he aptly solidified through opaque (bone) white heightening. This brief nod to the body's underlying structure, or scaffolding, reflects the graphic practice earlier proposed by Alberti for providing a solid basis for the male form's "rough" clothing of muscles and skin.[58] Allowing important *pentimenti* to remain wholly visible, Rubens then drew a second, larger, contour around it, which he extended to the calf and foot, to indicate the final visible form of a muscular left leg. He then added further shading near the knee, likely to indicate a cast shadow appearing on the surface of the skin caused by the raised left arm. Recalling his description of how to construct an ideal sculptural model, Rubens conceived of his kneeling man as having a layered construction, with a solid skeleton at its core, followed by muscles (conveyed in selective, cursory ways), and topped with an ideal clothing of stripped-down nudity. As in Alberti's most esteemed buildings such as churches ("temples"), classical form with little or no ornamentation on the exterior – or classical architectural "nudity" – was seen as the most decorous dressing befitting the serious character and function of the structure. If Alberti used human metaphors to discuss ideal architecture, Rubens used architectural metaphors to construct ideal figures.

The lion's share of *A Kneeling Man*, however, is drawn to reflect the tight garb of skin that both covers and reveals substantial layers of bone, cartilage, and especially engaged musculature that are implied below. The *idea* of bodily solidity is at issue here. Unlike in his earlier anatomical studies and *écorchés*, though, the muscles are far less individually defined, and the shading far more subtle, thereby lending the figure a more plausible, naturalistic effect. In a way, Rubens implied the body's strong underlying foundations, initially conceived of as a framework that builds from the inside out, manifested most in the form's external structures. In this sense, Rubens's anatomical approach could fundamentally be viewed in light of humanist architectural and theoretical considerations, particularly Alberti's promotion of the virtues of nakedness, or "lack of voluptuous adornment," in the ideal architectural body.[59] In other words, in drawings such as the Boijmans sheet, Rubens arguably took on the project of designing and constructing a seemingly naturalistic external structure

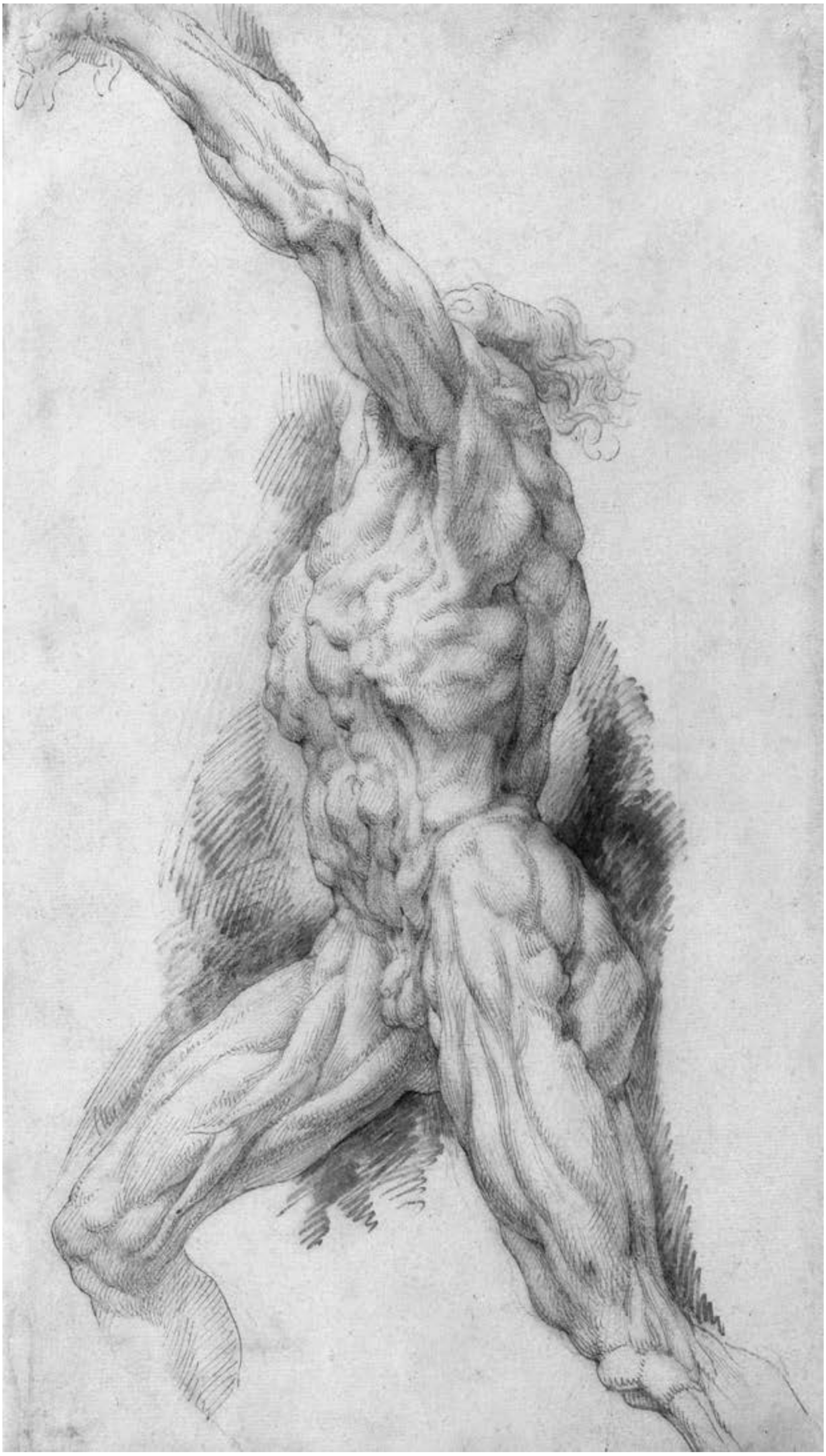


Figure 4.9 Peter Paul Rubens, *Anatomical Study of a Nude* (*Reaching Up to the Left*), c. 1606–08, pen and brown ink, brown wash and black chalk. The Thomson Collection (inv. AGOID 106856) © Art Gallery of Ontario.

– a bodily façade, if you will – from a conceptual framework aided by the use of excellent models. As in the Albertian tradition, such designs held the potential to embody time-honored humanist virtues, too.

With a wealth of great artistic models at hand, Rubens apparently saw no need to study the internal compositions of *actual* human bodies as Leonardo da Vinci occasionally did, at least as studied through first-hand dissections. While Leonardo gleaned at least some of his anatomical lessons from studying human and animal cadavers, in part or in whole, from direct observation,[60] Rubens turned mostly to antique sculpture and Renaissance anatomical texts and drawings – including Leonardo's own – for guidance, including for works related to a planned anatomy book.[61] According to Jeffrey Muller, many of Rubens's anatomical models, c. 1600–10, were borrowed from books and designs such as "the living anatomies" found in Vesalius's *De humani corporis fabrica Libri septem* (Basel, 1543) known through later editions,[62] as well as selected works of antique sculpture and Renaissance painting and drawing. These notably included the Laocoön (Figure 3.15), the Farnese Hercules (Figure 4.11), and the Belvedere Torso (Figure 4.20) – all of which Rubens drew on numerous occasions while in Rome – as well as Renaissance works including Leonardo's drawings of human proportion and anatomy that Rubens studied in the collection of Pompeo Leoni.[63] Rubens almost certainly also studied Federico Barocci's strong male figures and backs, including prominent figures in his *Presentation of the Virgin* (Santa Maria in Vallicella, Rome) that he would have intimately known while working on his own Chiesa Nuova altarpiece in the Eternal City. Rubens also likely owned at least two of Michelangelo's anatomical drawings, including a red chalk *Seated Male Nude with Studies of Two Right Arms* (Vienna, Albertina) and a study often associated with the Battle Cascina commission.[64] He also famously copied figural works from Michelangelo's Sistine ceiling, including his *ignudi* and Libyan Sibyl (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art).[65]

In addition to emulating excellent artistic models, Rubens seems to have been intensely interested in idealizing models of human proportions, as well as humoral philosophy, especially around the first decade of the seventeenth century. He owned two copies of Vitruvius's *De Architectura* (Venice, 1612 and Lyon, 1607), which outlined a mathematical system for right human and structural proportions,[66] and he copied lines from Dürer's book on human proportions, the *Four Books on Human Proportions* (*Vier Bücher von Menlischer Proportions*; Nuremberg, 1528), including them on his Sketchbook drawing after Raphael (Plate 13).[67] He also consulted Lomazzo's theory of human proportions in his *Trattato* in this regard, evidenced in an inscription on the verso of the Sketchbook sheet.[68] Rubens further adapted partial figural designs from drawing books such as Giacomo Franco's *De excellentia et nobilitate delineationis, libri duo* (Venice, 1611), and is known to have consulted Fra Luca Pacioli's widely disseminated *De divina proportione* (Venice, 1509) illustrated by Leonardo – one of the most influential Renaissance volumes for applying a rational, mathematical approach to the expression of human proportions and types.[69] Giambattista della Porta's comparative human and animal anatomies based in humoral philosophy in *De humana physiognomonia libri II* (1586) also particularly attracted Rubens's attention in the first decades of the century, a fact evidenced by the presence of related designs in Jombert's *La Théorie de la Figure Humaine* (Paris, 1773) that compare human to animal types.[70] In short, Rubens's anatomical interests were both erudite and eclectic.

Rubens's study of anatomy and the human figure through these prior models helped him to render highly persuasive figural types with increasing ease. Roger de Piles once remarked that Rubens possessed a "perfect" knowledge of anatomy which provided the basis for his "drawing in a grand manner," and his ability to render figures of all proportions and types with "marvelous facility."[71] In another instance, De Piles specifically pointed to the essential artifice and rhetorical thrust of Rubens's robust male nudes; he even went so far as to suggest that certain of Rubens's strong male nudes constituted mental inventions designed to deceive viewers in part through their apparent naturalism. Lauding the difficult artifice and visual persuasiveness of Rubens's male nudes in his *Fall of the Damned* (Last Judgment), c. 1618–20 (Munich, Alte Pinakothek), then in Richelieu's cabinet, De Piles, with competing rhetorical intent, inquired: "Who [but Rubens] could draw so many difficult figural attitudes, in such a grand and natural manner, *without using a model*? Who else, in the end, could fool the eyes, overtake the imagination, and persuade a viewer that the Last Judgment had indeed arrived? [*my emphasis*]"[72] Then De Piles continued to offer an explanation in peculiarly humanist terms of how and why Rubens alone (*seul*) could achieve this miraculous raising. According to De Piles, Rubens succeeded in reuniting all of the qualities of the best painters of the past through his happy genius, the force of his imagination, his grandeur of spirit, solid judgment, and consummate experience.[73] As a god-like creator in the mold of Michelangelo, Rubens, according to the French theorist, held the divine power to raise dead bodies to new life in painting persuasively through *Ars* and Rubens's inimitable artistic prowess alone.[74]

Rubens's relatively fluid, bold approach to style in the Boijmans drawing similarly suggests that he valued artifice and classical rhetorical persuasion over direct transcription. Unlike the overall evenhandedness characterizing Dutch *ad vivum* nudes,[75] the manner of the Boijmans sheet appears more freely and emphatically wrought, and at moments, even stylistically contradictory. When compared with Van Dyck's related version (Plate 33), for instance, the drawing points to Rubens's Lipsian propensity for labored, graphic excess and figural hyperbole on the one hand, and elegance and brevity on the other.[76] To illustrate: the Boijmans man appears excessively vigorous and rough in the hair and shoulder, and yet fluid, graceful, and sure in the thin contours of the left leg and right knee. In contrast to Van Dyck's flatter, more elongated *Kneeling Man*, Rubens emphasized the salience of certain zones of the male body, especially the upper torso and loins, through an insistent, aggressive application of black chalk and white heightening. Contrary to contemporary recommendations for after-life drawing in which writers like Van Hoogstraten and Van Mander argued against sitting too closely to one's model lest the figure appear ill-proportioned due to foreshortening, Rubens further rendered the Boijmans nude unusually closely compared with the way that many of his contemporaries drew nudes after life, causing it to appear to burst forth three-dimensionally into the viewer's space.[77] By contrast, in the sheet's lower regions, Rubens rendered the right leg with unusual flatness and a light graphic touch. Compared with Van Dyck's version of the figure, or even Rubens's own Louvre *Crouched Man*, the relative grace of Rubens's draftsmanship in this area highlights a simultaneous concern for creating the graphic effect of upward motion and figural delicacy.

The Boijmans drawing also formally reflects a draftsman who mostly rejected the careful contours and consistently *nette* (clean) drawing often associated with studies

of the live nude, in favor of a freer, more muscular drawing style open to visible corrections and changes. The drawing's open, flexed contours and graphic *pentimenti* – seen most vividly in the rough, unexacting visible corrections in black chalk and white heightening in the figure's raised arm – highlight Rubens's openness to freely altering his form while in the process of drawing. Visible marks of this active process may be seen elsewhere in the drawing too, despite the ease with which Rubens could have erased or covered his chalk marks. Countering critiques that such loose, improvisational drawing style showed Rubens's propensity for graphic "incorrectness," Roger de Piles offered another, more satisfactory explanation rooted in the artist's humanist appreciation of graphic freedom, or *liberté*, wrought by a *habitude* for drawing, a judicious use of models, and a superior, quick capacity for *dessin*. It also points to a graphic manifestation of the apparently labored writing found in Lipsius's personal epistles signaling a heated, active mind fervently working to embody greater truths. Such Rubensian signs of freedom and rapid, improvisational drawing abound in the drawing: in the freely altered left arm and shoulder, the enlarged left thigh, the reinscribed, curled contours of the hair, neck, and stomach, and most powerfully, in the multiplication of contours in the right shoulder that billow beyond recognizable form. In such moments, Rubens's graphic approach more closely parallels Michelangelo's or Raphael's, wherein rapid reiterations of contour simultaneously expressed figural movement and the quick fertility of the artist's mind at the basis of Renaissance *disegno*.

Bringing together ideas and forms he culled from selected classical and Renaissance models, informed by his first-hand knowledge of the strong nude, Rubens incorporated qualities into his drawing consistent with a humoral conception of male robustness suggesting oaken strength and hot-blooded liveliness that paralleled rhetorical and societal concerns seen elsewhere, most notably in Rubens's own writings in his Imitation treatise and Mercurialis's *De Arte Gymnastica*. As a new Zeuxis, Rubens created a graphic manifestation of male strength and vigor which could also stand as a visual metaphor for Rubens's larger concerns with artistic strength and renewal. Likely reflecting on Rubens's own painting, Franciscus Junius succinctly made the case for the artistic virtue inherent in Rubens's circles in works such as the Boijmans drawing. As we will eventually see, this "extraordinary argument" in the Boijmans sheet related to the classical concepts of robust health and liveliness at the heart of so many of his most important painted figures and narratives, and Rubens's broader notions for artistic improvement. For early modern humanists, long committed to the belief that the beautiful, perfected human body acted as a vehicle of the honorable, virtuous soul, and moreover as a microcosm expressing the perfection of the divinely ordered macrocosm in the lineage of Leonardo's *Vitruvian Man*,[78] few pictorial subjects would have trumped it.

The Best Skill and the Best Matter: The *Kneeling Man* in Context

Drawings like the Boijmans sheet (Plate 30) played a developmental, if not directly preparatory, role in the production of hyper-animated, larger-than-life, sculptural nudes that served in some of the artist's most celebrated and energetic compositions. Drafted in a period, c. 1610–20, in which monumentality and a sculptural approach to the human figure played a central role in his artistic conception and practice, Rubens's figural types were largely based on classical Roman sculpture (usually copies

after Greek originals) that he studied in and around Rome.[79] Amongst the most popular and valuable of his artistic stock, the compositions appealed to a range of contemporary viewers and patrons, including individual collectors, and church and civic leaders who placed them in highly prominent positions in both public and private spaces throughout Antwerp. One Antwerp merchant, Jan le Grand, wrote in March 1611: "We have here a good master who is called the god of painters, Peeter Rubens, he is the painter of His Highness [Archduke Albert] . . . He has made here various pieces that are held in high esteem, as to wit, in the town hall, in Saint Michael's, at the Dominicans, and in the church of the Castle, and they are beautiful."[80]

Paintings with robust male nudes loosely related to the Boijmans *Kneeling Man* were commissioned for churches, the newly refurbished town hall in Antwerp, and as a private showpiece for one of its most notable art collectors, Nicolas Rockox (1560–1640). Rockox likely hung Rubens's *Samson and Delilah*, c. 1609–10 (London, National Gallery; Figure 4.10), featuring a disempowered Samson above the mantel



Figure 4.10 Peter Paul Rubens, *Samson and Delilah*, c. 1609–10, oil on panel, 185 × 205 cm (inv. NG6461). National Gallery, London. © National Gallery, London/Art Resource, NY.

in his large salon – the most highly privileged display position in a Dutch or Flemish home. The painting is pictured as the chimneypiece in Frans Francken the Younger's painting of the Rockox collection (Munich, Alte Pinakothek).[81] By contrast, the Madrid *Adoration* (Plate 31), which features two strong male nudes at bottom right, was a civic commission negotiated by church and civic leaders that eventually hung across from Janssens's *Allegory of the Scheldt* (Antwerp, Royal Museum of Fine Arts; inv. 212) in the Statenkamer of the refurbished Antwerp town hall.[82] The painting was executed around the time of the truce between Spain and the northern Netherlands, negotiated in January 1609. At about the same time, prominent church and business figures, including Cornelis van der Geest, worked together to secure the commission for the *The Raising of the Cross* (Plate 7), which drew heavily from Michelangelo, Tintoretto, and Caravaggio, for the high altar of Antwerp's since destroyed church of St. Walpurgis.

The demand for Rubens's figural work does not seem to have abated in the following years either. In 1618, Dudley Carleton, British ambassador to The Hague, traded his renowned collection of antique marbles for a group of paintings dominated by the strong male nude, including the *Prometheus* of c. 1610–12 (Philadelphia, Museum of Art), *The Martrydom of Sebastian* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen), and a small *Last Judgment* (Munich, Alte Pinakothek).[83] As primarily a figural painter, Rubens assessed the value of his paintings by the number and quality of figures, which he deemed the most difficult part of art, as well as by the subject and excellence of the pictures, not by the size of the work as was the case with tapestries, for example.[84] One of Rubens's letters to collector Dudley Carleton dated 1618 highlights these values. Rubens described his now well-known painting in Philadelphia as "A Prometheus bound on Mount Caucasus, with an eagle which pecks his liver. Original, by my hand, and the eagle done by Snyders" – suggesting that his execution of the human figure far outweighed his collaborator's contributions, including Snyder's memorable bird.[85] Under the artist's careful watch, Rubens's most talented engraver, Lucas Vorsterman (1595–1675), copied many of these compositions in the second decade of the seventeenth century. These works, now often called the "Rubens School Engravings," proved to be amongst the most popular designs by the master in his time and became the standard by which Rubens was largely known to future generations.[86] On Rubens's petition, some of them gained copyright privileges. Indeed, Rubens later dedicated the *Descent from the Cross* series to Carleton in gratitude for helping to securing these rights.[87] By mid-century, *liefhebbers* collected large-folio drawings of male nudes, like the Boijmans sheet, as valuable works of art. Englishman William Sanderson advised that such large-scale, black chalk male nudes were even appropriate to be hung for individual display. According to Sanderson, black and white "draughts" of naked and other male and female figures were preferable for hanging on one's walls, "as large as the place will afford."[88] Addressing his *Graphice, The Use of the Pen and Pensil* (1658) to "intellectuals," Sanderson recommended that draftsmen vigorously depict the robust male nude with many muscles and some firmness or roughness. He further suggested that drawing after life was best for less knowledgeable artists, but that for well-studied artists who sought perfection, artifice remained preferable.[89]

Singled out by contemporary viewers for their rhetorical qualities, including their rough liveliness and force, Rubens's conspicuous, robust males often literally shoulder some of his most rhetorical and political painted compositions from the first and

second decades, providing a visual framework – a pictorial scaffolding – on which they rest.[90] Rubens placed these animated, ruddy males in prominent positions in his history paintings, rendering them with a great deal of painterly bravura and attention to bodily volumes. Characterized by unusual bodily positions involving broad movements, and presented from close, oblique perspectives, they appear in prominent, though mostly supporting (often ignoble) roles as burly porters (*St. Christopher Carrying the Christ Child*, and the Madrid and Groningen *Adoration*s), flushed executioners (*Martyrdom of St. Lieven* and *The Raising of the Cross*), and suffering mythical or biblical figures (*Prometheus* and *Samson and Delilah*).[91] Whether prominently occupying the center of a composition, as in the Philadelphia *Prometheus*, or more frequently hovering in the bottom foreground of a picture, as in the Madrid and Groningen *Adorations*, these often "compromised," ruddy figures that diverge from the ideal serve to support, draw attention to, or visually heighten, the painting's key figures and meanings.[92] Vivid recollections of Michelangelo's treatment of his compositionally supportive *ignudi* in the Sistine Chapel clearly lingered years, sometimes decades, later for Rubens, even back in Antwerp.

Bodies carried meaning for Rubens. In many cases, he placed his robust male nudes in visual and rhetorical opposition to other figural types in his large-scale compositions, as exemplars of counterpoint or antithesis in paint.[93] In the Madrid *Adoration* (Plate 31), for example, the Boijmans figure appears in a somewhat altered rough and reddish form as one of two notably nude porters carrying large jars. Significantly, Rubens added the two overtly muscular nudes as visual foils to, and highly visible supports for, the ornamented, more ephebic Magi above in a last-minute rhetorical flourish to his canvas just before its highly prominent installation in the newly refurbished Antwerp town hall.[94] Such use of figural contrast to heighten the effect and vividness of the painting is also notable in the central panel of the Antwerp *Raising of the Cross* (Plate 7). In this case, Rubens set a burly, hot-blooded executioner, energetically heaving the cross upward in Tintorettoesque fashion, in conspicuous opposition to a coldly lithe, resigned figure of the crucified Christ, thereby amplifying the visual and affective impact of each. At some level, Rubens almost certainly intended that these figures provide a metaphor for strength and vigor in painting – as figures that might "carry" painting itself – in some of Antwerp's most politically and religiously charged spaces in the years following the Dutch blockade.[95]

Such muscular figures in Rubens's oeuvre played other rhetorical functions as well. In the *Last Judgment* of c. 1618–20 (Munich, Alte Pinakothek), Rubens rendered the Elect as healthy, strong male nudes, contrary to his Damned which he figured as wild, supine "pareilles antithèses", descending as if out of control.[96] In contrast to the many old and less robust males that populate these compositions, the strong male nude often functions as a standard against which surrounding figures and their qualities may be further defined and codified. In some instances, as in *Prometheus* or his *St. Sebastian* in the Palazzo Corsini (Rome), Rubens's weighty figures also act as an unusually insistent declaration of virtue, including of moral and physical strength or physical or spiritual animation. In others, especially when the strong male nude ironically represents physical or moral weakness, as in the soon-to-be-shorn Samson of the London *Samson and Delilah* (National Gallery) or the damned in the Munich *Last Judgment*, their presence functions as an assertion of the ultimate moral or physical weakness of a figure lacking control of his faculties. Rubens apparently

intended that such figures also be particularly visible and memorable. A composition by Anton Ghering, 1661, shows Rubens's *Raising of the Cross* altarpiece, hanging *in situ* above the main altar, as highly visible from even the west end of St. Walpurgis's lengthy nave.[97] The figures of Christ and the highly modeled, robust executioner below are characteristically legible.[98] Peter Sutton has tied Rubens's apparent intent to make these figures as visible and affective as possible to Charles Borromeo's rhetorical stipulations in his *Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae* (Antwerp, 1572) that the Life of Christ and the Passion "should be so intensely felt as if to appear (in Ignatius of Loyola's terms) as if it were happening before one's very eyes."[99]

The few extant texts in which contemporaries remark on compositions featuring Rubens's prodigious male nudes evidence their rhetorical appeal in the early seventeenth century and beyond. The earliest sources describe them in terms of their vividness and affective impact. In a poem dated April 7, 1612, Dominicus Baudius (a friend of Rubens's brother Philip), wrote of the lively and affective qualities of figures in his *Prometheus* painting, describing the scene's capacity in ekphrastic terms, as if "it were happening before one's very eyes." [100] Emphasizing the affective immediacy of Jupiter's attack on the helpless Prometheus, Baudius wrote that the painting caused him "to imagine flames shooting from the bird's eyes."[101] Eighteenth-century writers particularly focused on the rhetorical and mnemonic qualities of Rubens's robust males. Following De Piles's recognition of the difficult artifice and visual persuasiveness of Rubens's male nudes in the Munich *Last Judgment*,[102] French and English writers as diverse as J.C. Weyermann, J.B. Descamps, and Joshua Reynolds, variously observed that his robust male figures appeared at once memorably powerful and realistic, and their actions – as well as Rubens's corresponding facture – appropriately forceful and vigorous. Weyermann (1729), for example, specifically described the *Raising of the Cross* in classical rhetorical terms. Recalling Quintilian's promotion of *vivicità*, or enlivenment, for robust oratory, he wrote the painting was "so realistically conceived and so forcefully carried out that it seems as if those painted workers are animated and really live and move."[103] He particularly singled out the bald man as an example of such force and "violent effort," and for the unusually intimidating breadth of his shoulders.[104]

In a similar vein, Descamps (1769) noted the figures' "expressive" countenances in Rubens's *Descent from the Cross* (Antwerp, Onze Lieve Vrouw; Plate 23), and implied that Rubens rendered the qualities of boldness and heat in his figures through a certain exaggerated "heaviness" in execution.[105] He also described *St. Christopher Carrying the Christ Child* on one of the wings of the Antwerp *Descent* as being "exaggerated and mannered, as if striking to create a great character."[106] Less than 20 years later the English painter and academician Joshua Reynolds (1781) remarked that the "bustle" of the executioners in the *Raising of the Cross* "makes a fine contrast to the character of resignation in the crucified Savior" and argued that Rubens's various types of male nudes, especially Christ and his executioners, allowed him "to shew his knowledge of the anatomy of the human body in different characters."[107] Reynolds also criticized some of the robust male nudes, including the bald man of the *Raising*, as exhibiting a shoulder that was "somewhat defective; it appears too round" and Rubens's Herculean Christopher as Christbearer as having a *rubur* coloring that was "too red and bricky, and the outline [as] not flowing."[108] Such commentary, which recalls early critiques of Rubens's less than idealizing approach

to figural form including in his *Constantine* series, continued into the nineteenth century. Delacroix (1850) noted Rubens's excessive treatment of men and horses in his *Hippo Hunt* and lavished praise on the force and affective impact of his *Raising*,[109] and Silvestre (1868) described the Rubens of the *Raising* and *Descent* in Shakespearean terms as "the poet of robust health" that has never been "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought."[110] Silvestre continued "Do you believe that he liked those early Flemish masters with their emaciated saints? Strong and healthy men, boatmen, blacksmiths, peasants of Flanders, will live in these canvases as apostles, saints, martyrs, or executioners. Jupiter, Hercules, Antinous, Mercury will in turn lend their features to the Christian God."[111]

Rubens returned time and again to the study of the male nude in Italy and once again back in Antwerp to hone his graphic skill in constructing the most valuable part of his art, the human form. In the classical and Italian Renaissance traditions to which he was heir, rendering the nude had long been perceived as one of the most difficult challenges in art. Artists in Michelangelo's circle, for example, frequently selected the Farnese Hercules (Figure 4.11) as a subject for artistic competition, appreciating the superior challenge it posed in translating a well-endowed, classical physical and emotional type into a more mobile one.[112] One of the primary difficulties for sculptors lay in finding the means to express bodily solidity and the figure's massive muscularity – natural themes for sculpture and its often hard, marble medium – in a way that overcame its cold, static limitations. When translated to a two-dimensional field, however, the problem shifted to how to express the qualities of three-dimensional bodily solidity and liveliness out of (flat) line on (two-dimensional) paper. Clearly, Rubens's attempts to overcome the limitations of his graphic medium were grounded in the pictorial challenge Michelangelo earlier posed for himself in his studies and paintings for the Sistine ceiling: namely, how to translate the classically inspired, sculptural male nude on a two-dimensional support in a way that communicated fundamental classical virtues, while also improving upon nature. Where Rubens's male nudes seem to depart from Michelangelo's, however, is that Rubens intended a powerful, naturalistic *effect* for his subjects, even if he did not concern himself with internal bodily anatomy and the functions of its parts, as did his more empirically minded predecessors like Leonardo. Creating the *appearance* of "correct" anatomy, while still graphically acknowledging his figures' sculptural inspiration, in part arguably drove his interests.

Rubens observed that artists should draw after excellent examples of antique sculpture, like the third-century marble Farnese Hercules (Naples, Museo Nazionale; Figure 4.11), in order to perfect their painting by being "penetrated" by their models' underlying concept or "intelligence." Such models, according to Rubens, proved particularly useful for painters who could judiciously distinguish their hard, stone medium from their conceptual force and substance. In his Imitation treatise, he wrote that those artists who could not distinguish between the concept and the medium risked destroying their painting through affectation of anatomy and stiffness.[113] By contrast, artists who could keenly distinguish between the form and matter of the best antique models were given the conceptual keys to superior art based on their underlying time-honored principles. Laying bare his additional concern for contemporary artistic decline, which he largely attributed to laziness and likened to social corruption and decay, he turned to the concept of the hard-working, athletic, robust male nude – best seen in such antique models – as a metaphor for renewed vigor and



Figure 4.11 *The Farnese Hercules*, third century CE, marble. Credit: Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, Italy. Mondadori Portfolio/Electa/Sergio Anelli/ Bridgeman Images.

the value of artistic exercise. Like Armenini who argued in *De' veri precetti della Pittura* (Ravenna, 1587) that artists should be careful which antique statues they choose because many of them represented nature in a state of decline,[114] Rubens exhibited great selectivity, choosing Greek (mainly Hellenistic) models, mostly known through Roman sculpture, as the basis for the construction of the male body and, arguably, the foundation for artistic reinvigoration.[115] He drew the Farnese Hercules at least 11 times from six different angles, the Vatican Laocoön 13 times, and the Hercules *mingens* five times. These all likely date to his Roman years and to the decade after he returned to Antwerp.[116] In his Imitation treatise, Rubens also lauded the well-exercised, muscular athlete of the classical Greek *gymnasium*, embodied in the Farnese Hercules and the strong athletes in Hieronymus Mercurialis's *De Arte Gymnastica* (Venice, 1573), as exemplars of extraordinary force and artistic well-being.[117] By contrast, Rubens claimed men of his time were often fat, especially in the stomach, and devoid of muscle in the legs and arms.[118] In this context, it is perhaps not surprising that Mercurialis, who was the physician to Cardinal Farnese, was also a close friend and correspondent of Lipsius since his Roman days.[119]

In Rubens's Lipsian-inspired circles, sloth and laziness constituted vices that were the Neostoic enemies not only of productivity, but also apparently of artistic health as well. In one instance, Rubens criticized the northern painter Adam Elsheimer – whom he described as one of the best of his generation – in a letter mourning his death, chastising him for sloth and laziness in an otherwise praiseworthy life and career.[120] Exercises like drawing – especially drawing the strong, vigorous male nude with the intelligence of the ancients at its conceptual core – would almost certainly have offered, in Rubens's Lipsian-inspired circles, signs of artistic reinvigoration: a way to return to, and ultimately surpass, the glory of the ancients by transforming and reinvigorating antique and Renaissance models, like the Farnese Hercules, for a new age. After all, physical and artistic health seems often to have been on Rubens's mind. In a 1626 letter to Jacques Dupuy, he discussed a recent illness he suffered related to a "violent tertian fever" and how it led to his feeling "languid in both body and spirit." Rubens further excused himself "if [his] letter shows little vigor, in conformity to its writer."[121] In a similar vein, Franciscus Junius's use of the term "hardnesse" (*audacia*) in the context of the robust male nude insinuated artistic boldness and the self-assurance of antiquity which he notably contrasted with the laziness of his current age.[122]

As Rubens clarified in his writings on the human figure, certain sites and actions of the strong male body held particular interest for him in this context. In keeping with the early modern caloric understanding of the differentiation between the sexes, Rubens located male potentiality in massive, highly visible sites of the male body: particularly in the heated muscles of the back, shoulders, legs, and arms, rather than in the genitalia.[123] In the conclusion to his Imitation treatise, he indicated the retracted stomach, agitated, muscular arms, legs, neck, shoulders, and "any other part" that might express the relative *chaleur* (heat) of the generative male figure as the corporeal sites most indicative of the ideal male nude. To illustrate, he pointed to the strong backs of the Gètes, porters (also mentioned by Norgate), and other laborers, the legs of dancers, and "almost the whole body" of rammers and wrestlers as appropriate models.[124] If bodies held meaning for Rubens, certain bodily parts held the potential to act as synecdoches for a larger whole. This rhetorical approach was almost certainly grounded in Leonardo's ideas regarding the ability of *elementi*, or the bodily

"microcosm" down to it smallest parts to stand for the "macrocosm" and larger, universalizing – even poetic – ideals.[125]

Rubens's typological interest in warriors, laborers, athletes, and porters as underlying models for his strong male nude is further evidenced in Jombert's transcription of Rubens's *De figuris humanis* in *La Théorie de la Figure Humaine* (1773). In this seminal volume, and in a number of copied Rubens designs in Van Dyck's *Antwerp Sketchbook*, the importance and role of these bodily parts – especially the shoulders, arms, and legs – for carrying (*portent*) heavy objects in these strong figural types is particularly highlighted.[126] For example, in his chapter "On Athletes" in *La Théorie*, a section inspired by Virgil's *Aeneid* (V), Rubens described the two combating figures of Darius and Entellus in terms of how individual muscular body parts, particularly "agitated, vigorous arms," "large shoulders," "big bones," and "strong joints," evidenced the size, strength, and the vigor of their movements, as well as their aptly proud and audacious characters.[127] One of the red chalk Cantoor drawings, 1628–30 (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst; Figure 4.12),[128] indicates Rubens also looked to the muscular back and shoulders of the Roman sculpture

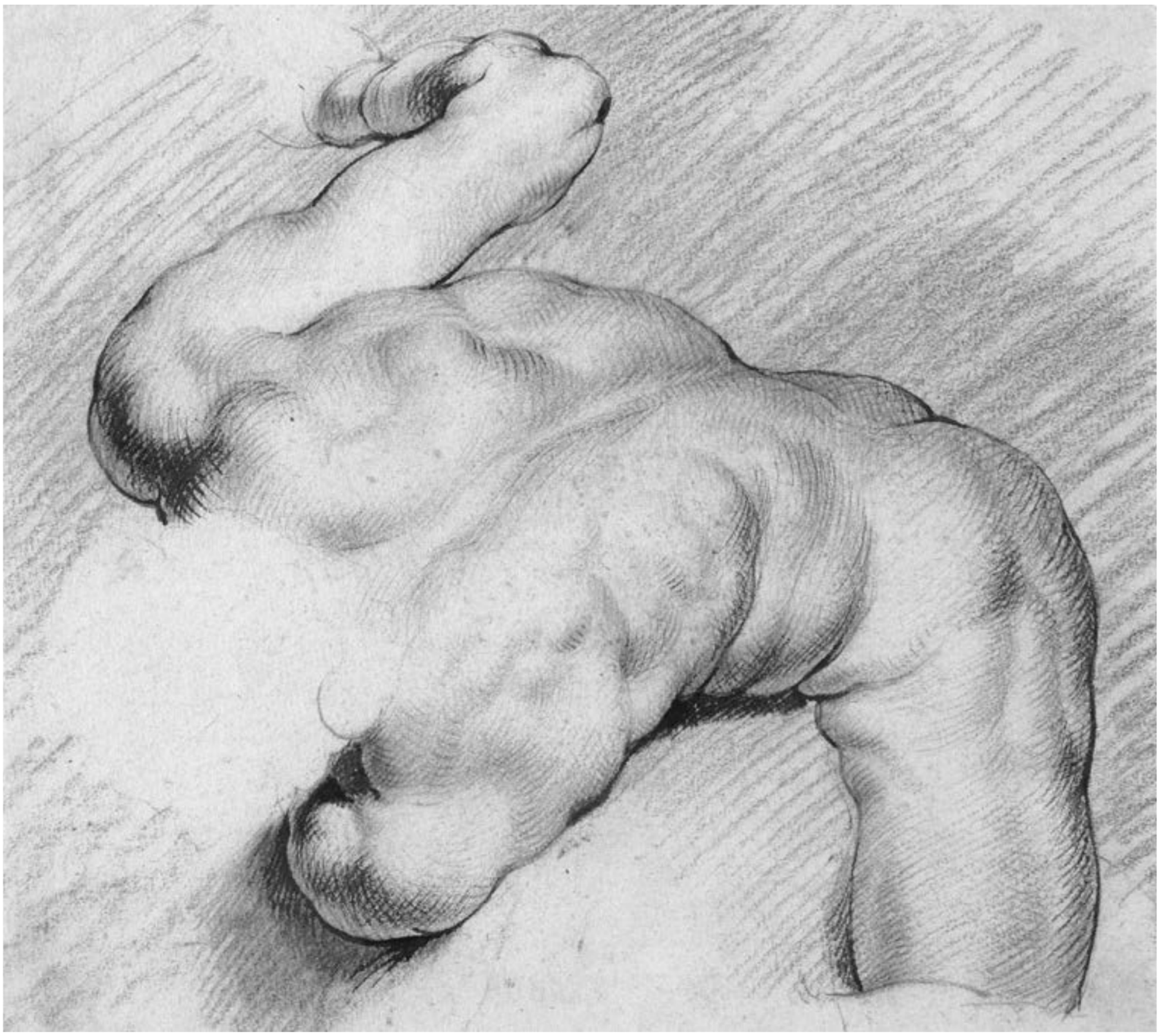


Figure 4.12 Willem Panneels, *Study after the Wrestlers*, 1628–30, red chalk. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen (inv. KKSGB 7551). Photo: SMK Foto.

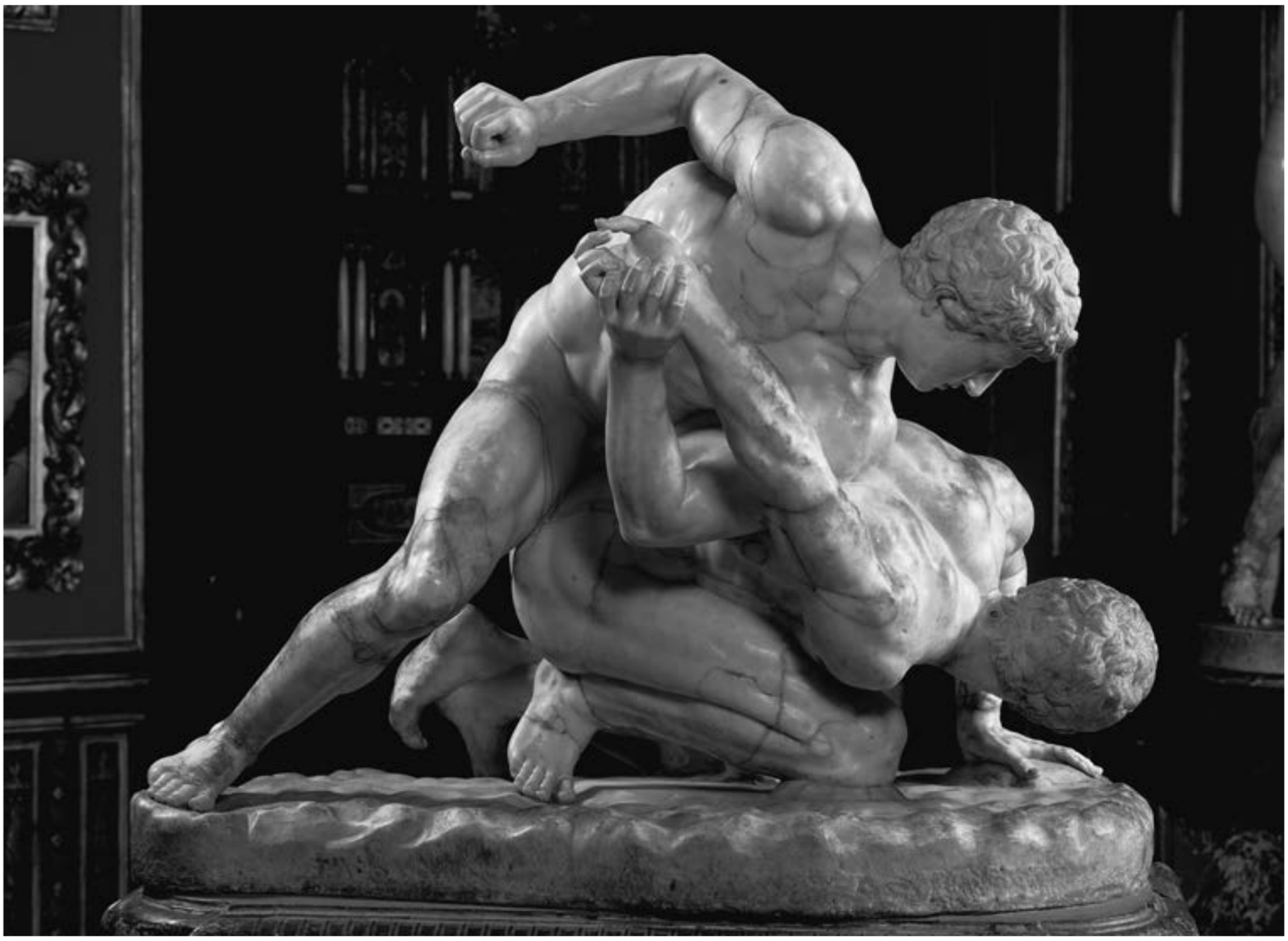


Figure 4.13 *Wrestlers*, third century BCE, Roman copy after a Greek original, marble. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi © 2016. Photo: Scala, Florence – courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali.

of two wrestlers (Florence, Uffizi; Figure 4.13) as a model informing his robust male figures fighting or acting under great strain.[129]

As the Copenhagen copy and related Rubens designs of figures after Leonardo in *La Théorie de la Figure Humaine* illustrate, vigorous actions and the corresponding engagement of extreme musculature in certain zones of the male body helped to signal robust virility and extreme strength in Rubens's figural *repertoire*. Citing Leonardo's observations on the impact of various motions on the human musculature in *La Théorie*, Rubens singled out the acts of carrying, pulling, and lifting heavy objects, characteristic of the activities of porters or athletes, as requiring the most strength in the upper body and thighs. In Rubens's copies of *Figures Pushing and Pulling* after Leonardo (Figure 4.14), he exemplified this localized myological effect not only in the back and active legs, but also in large, agitated muscles in the arms and shoulders. In his Imitation treatise, Rubens suggested that the arms, legs, neck, and shoulders were bodily loci where force and agitation might be seen in male athletes.[130] To heighten the effect that the Boijmans figure is lifting, or pulling, a presumably heavy object toward him, Rubens cast the shoulder and lifted upper arm muscles most associated with this highly strenuous activity as aptly raised and curved.[131] Leaner athletic models like the Borghese Gladiator evidencing longer, but still tightly muscular arms, clenched hands, a similarly bent arm, and a deep armpit shadow arguably offered him a particularly apt classical model for a particularly athletic action like carrying heavy objects, as in his Madrid *Adoration*.

The Boijmans figure's muscular back, and its suggestion of convex myological fullness, also plays an important role in amplifying the idea of figural strength. Michelangelo's treatment of muscular convexity, or what Lomazzo called the "miraculous relief" (*relievi mirabili*) of his nudes,[132] arguably provided Rubens one more recent avenue of graphic departure, as Rubens's emulation after Michelangelo's *Libyan Sibyl* (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum) suggests. As De Piles wrote in his *Remarques sur l'art de Peinture de C.A. du Fresnoy* (Paris, 1673), painters used such *clair-obscur* arrangements in their figures to produce the effect of a "convex mirror" (*Miroir convexe*) that would give a greater sense of relief and force in the figure.[133] Unlike the all-over treatment of muscular convexity in his earlier anatomical studies, though, Rubens largely confined the expression of flexed, or active, muscles in the Boijmans drawing to the superior zones of the upper back and shoulders. As prescribed by Leonardo, he showed muscles related to the figure's depicted activity of lifting as "prominent and thickened" as a means to avoid making the figure look "like a sack of walnuts rather than a human form."[134]

In keeping with his classicizing approach, Rubens also applied geometric qualities to the athletic male nude. As expressed in *La Théorie*, Rubens (translated by Jombert) clarified that the ideal male body of heroes, athletes, and those characterized by strength and vigor (*tous les corps forts & vigoureux*) were to be based in the form

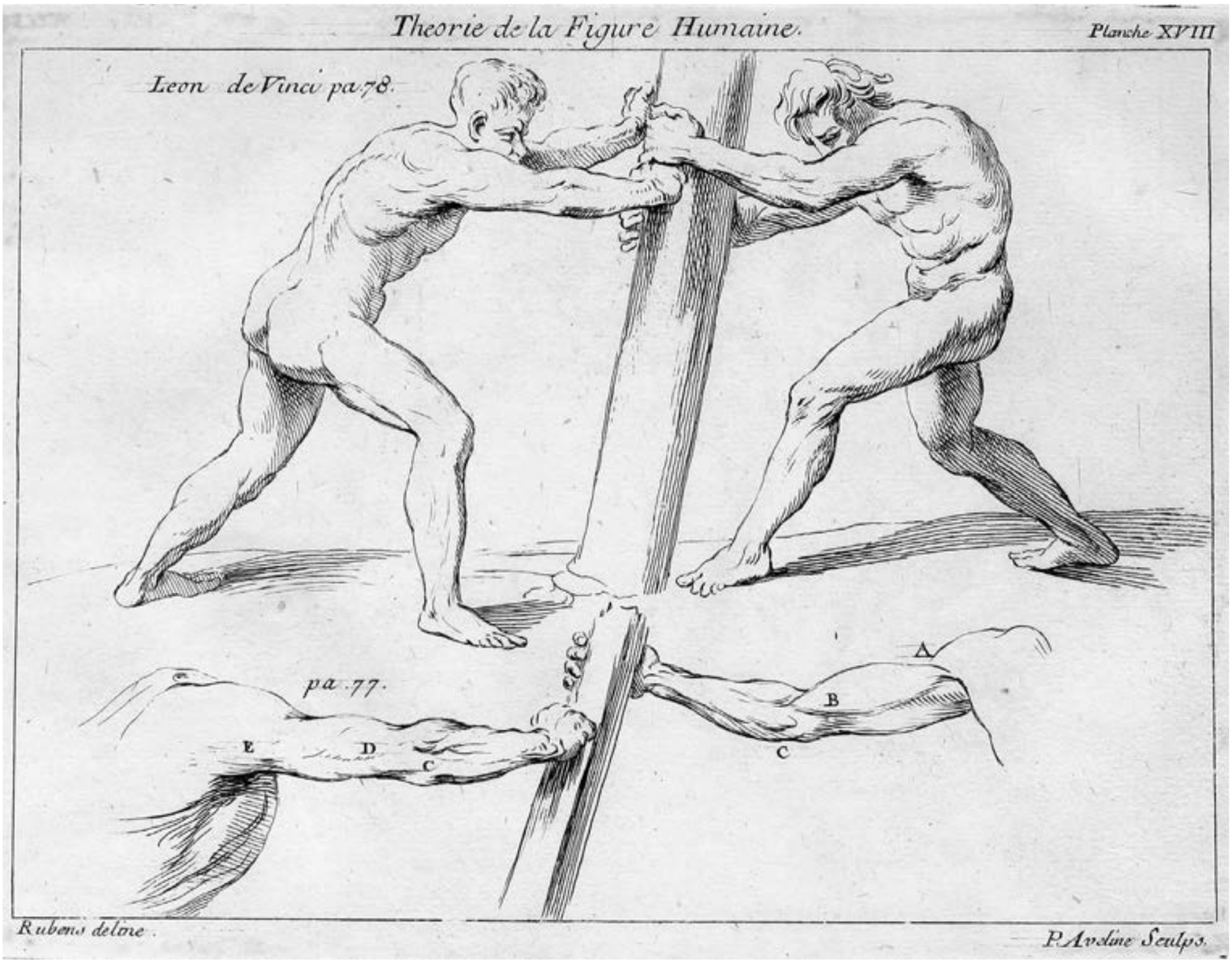


Figure 4.14 Pierre Aveline, after Rubens, *Studies of Figures Pushing and Pulling after Leonardo*, in Rubens/Jombert, *La Théorie de la Figure Humaine* (Paris, 1773), pl. XVIII (84-B21157). Credit: Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

of the cube.[135] In one of the few times that Jombert incorporated Latin into his translation, he retained the classical source for Rubens's idea, grounded in Quintilian. Directly quoting the Latin orator's ideas on robust oratory in the *Institutio Oratoria*, Jombert added that ideal male nude was to be made "grave, forte, robustum, compactum & athleticum" (serious, strong, robust, compact, and athletic) like a cube.[136] Transcribed by Jombert in the original Latin of Rubens's *De figuris*, these classical qualities closely echo Norgate's slightly later championing of the "Strong, Robustious, and Vigerouse" male figure, which he associated directly with drawing male nudes ("the Nakeds") in the studio.

Understood in light of his early borrowing of Quintilian in his Imitation treatise,[137] the lively, robust male further offered a figural cognate for Quintilian's robust brand of oratory outlined in antiquity. For Rubens, like Quintilian, this meant instilling in his best arguments the classical virtues most associated with robust oratory, including lively strength, heated vigor, and vehemence. In early modern humanist circles, as in antiquity, robustness (*robustum*, or *robustezza*) implied oaken strength and ruddiness, characterized by physical and moral health. The Latin derivation of *robustum – rubur* – further implied both hot-bloodedness and roughness: qualities directly associated in Quintilian and, arguably, Leonardo's red chalk *Battle of Anghiari* drawings, with strong, active males.[138] Rubens's description of how to create an ideal, healthy figure *per maner rubarazzo* in the Courtauld's MS Johnson fol. 22r discussed earlier also seems to reflect this interest. Similarly, Franciscus Junius noted the importance of good coloring and a body clothed in muscles to the pictorial expression of male health. In *The Painting of the Ancients*, Junius (quoting Quintilian) described a figural formula that recalls Rubens's own in ways that elaborate on and help clarify its broader representational stakes. "Healthfull [male] bodies," Junius wrote, "and such bodies as by a continuall exercitation are filled with good and pure bloud . . . receive their favour out of the same things out of the which they receive their strength: seeing this maketh them well-coloured, compact, and closed up in muscles."[139]

In Junius's formulation, a compact sort of athletic strength grounded in a clothing of musculature, and rising, male heat is further reflected in a flushed, blood-filled body – features that in Mercurialis's *De Arte Gymnastica* are joined to ideas of physical and social health.[140] Related ideas are also captured in Norgate's use of the now outmoded term *vigerouse* in his description of the ideal robust male body. The term *vigerouse*, derived from a Latin and Old French term (*vegere*) meaning to be strong and active with mental and physical force, highlights the importance of being awake and acting with lively energy and vitality (*vivacità*) to this equation. At a time when all differences in sex were perceived as a relative difference in the degree of heat, such expressions of extreme male health were simultaneously expressions of male physical and moral superiority. As Frank Fehrenbach observed in the context of Leonardo's figural drawings, these values relate to classical rhetorical aims located in Quintilian to produce enlivened figures which persuasively appeared "more than lifelike" by surpassing Nature through the perfecting power of *Ars*.[141]

In the early modern period, embodying male vigor through an "excessive, declamatory" treatment of bodies helped avoid what one scholar called "the intolerable possibility of sameness" between men and women in a period in which the anatomical lines of differentiation between the two were often blurred.[142] All bodily differences, including the descent of the genitals, were understood in caloric humoral terms, as differences in heat or "degree."[143] Given that male *anatomical* superiority was

arguably tenuous in the early modern period, hyperbolic, "excessive" characteristics associated with the male body provided one means for declaring and codifying male superiority. Strength and vigor were thus understood as the means by which men overcame perceived biological weaknesses relative to women; they were also a way to separate them, by contrast, from less virtuous, "effeminate" males – like the ones Rubens decried in his Imitation treatise – as prone to (female) laziness, eating too much, or weakness. For this reason, he likely expressed ideas of castration and emasculation through male figures deprived of generative power or virility, which he usually located in the musculature and hair,[144] or otherwise in an unusually fat or largely immobile figure. For example, the lazy, drunken figure of Silenus (Figure 4.15), often shown plodding along in Rubens's oeuvre weighed down with a round, protruding belly, illustrates one such form of figural emasculation. The Herculean Samson, being shorn of his hair, and wearily collapsed on the ground in front of an emboldened Delilah despite his prodigious muscles, provides another (Figure 4.10). These gender hierarchies also played out in at least one of Rubens's letters when he complained about the (feminized) shame he felt for his "sterility of invention."[145]

Evidence grounded in Rubens's *De figuris* suggests that the robust man further provided his most significant point of departure for the expression of an ideal human type. Inspired by Quintilian notions of robust oratory, Rubens named the virile male as the most perfect type of human figure; as translated by Jombert in *La Théorie de la Figure Humaine*, he wrote, "[L]a forme virile est la vraie perfection de la figure humaine." [146] Rubens featured the virile male as the starting point in *De figuris humanis* for his studies and observations on the human anatomy, in stark contrast to Giambattista della Porta's influential physiognomic treatise, *De humana physiognomonia libri IIII* (1586), which begins with the female figure.[147] Deriving from the Latin *viriles*, or *vir*, meaning man, or having manly strength or vigor, Rubens clarified the significant characteristics of this perfect figure by naming the strong or robust male as its apogee. Pierre Aveline's engravings after Rubens's designs of the strong, active male in *La Théorie*, including studies after the Laocoön, the Farnese Hercules, and Atlas (Figure 4.16), and Rubens's Leonardo-inspired, pushing and pulling figures (Figure 4.14),[148] also bear this out. Again following Quintilian, Rubens differentiated between "three types of strong and robust men," characterized by different forms and proportions, which he illustrated through antique sculptural models he studied in Italy.[149] For Rubens, the Farnese Hercules exemplified the form and character of the ideal robust man who was "above nature" and "most perfect in all its points."[150] As the standard against which the other two types were derived, Rubens included little in the way of bodily prescriptions for his Farnese type, except to say it had the character of a lion, bull, or horse, seen most notably in its hair and muscles. A handful of Rubens's designs in *La Théorie* comparing the ideal Herculean type with the bull and horse, inspired by human-animal correspondences illustrated and described in Della Porta's *De humana physiognomonia*, illustrate this point.[151]

Rubens further extended his Farnese type to include other key classical figures exhibiting similar qualities of bodily density and agility, thereby also demonstrating his talent for exploiting flexible figural typologies. One illustration in *La Théorie* pictures three separate groupings of this ideal type, including Hercules – traditionally associated with fortitude – fighting the boar, Atlas carrying the world, and the Laocoön struggling with serpents (Figure 4.16).[152] Rubens named the Emperor Commodus as Hercules – represented in an exquisite second-century CE marble sculpture apparently



Figure 4.15 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Drunken Silenus*, early seventeenth century, black chalk on paper, 410 × 256 mm. London, British Museum (inv. T,12.58) © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 4.16 Pierre Aveline, after Rubens, *Studies of the Laocoön, Hercules and Atlas*, in Rubens/Jombert, *La Théorie de la Figure Humaine* (Paris, 1773), pl. XXIV (84-B21157). Credit: Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

known to him (Rome, Capitoline Museum) – as the most elegant type of robust man, and the Roman Gladiator which he also studied in Rome (Villa Borghese), as the supreme athlete who was the most beautiful from all sides. He characterized the Commodus type as evidencing an elevated breast, larger shoulders, elongated arms, larger hands, firm leg muscles, a pyramidal elongated trunk, and a thinner (*moins epaisse*) body than the Farnese type. For Rubens, the Gladiator type by contrast included drier and bigger bones, a longer head, stretched arms and legs, a flatter stomach, and underlying flesh stretched like "cords" (*cordes*) over the skeleton.[153] His accompanying praise of the Commodus type as "an example of force of body joined to beauty of forms joined to exact observation of prescribed rules by experimental masters of art" further highlights his commitment to the best artistic models and their underlying ideas, especially in the realm of the robust male anatomy.[154]

In the Boijmans sheet, this "sculptural intelligence" in part translates to a figure that embodies some of the features Rubens most associated with the more experimental Commodus type: particularly firm legs, a notably (inverted) pyramidal torso, unusually broad shoulders, long arms, and a thinner waist than the Farnese model. Still, Rubens's Farnese Hercules type, and especially the three-dimensional geometry of the cube and pyramid he associated with it, generally seems to have informed his *underlying* approach to the robust male nude. On the recto of one of the surviving sheets from *De figuris* dated c. 1600–01, now in the Princes Gate Collection, fol. 427 (London, The Courtauld Gallery; Plate 35), Rubens collapsed the concept and form of "an extremely robust man" with Hercules and a classical architectural feature, the strong Tuscan column – both models he equated with athletes and the geometric forms of the cube and pyramid. Illustrated by drawings inspired by the Farnese Hercules, an inscription in his Latin hand reads: "A man. Heracles. The form of Hercules or of an extremely robust man [*Forma Herculea siue robusti viri supra modum*] has its basis in a cube (as the Tuscan kind of column compared to athletes) . . ."[155]

This fundamentally humanistic equation, spanning figural and classical art, architecture, and geometry, bears the peculiar marks of one of Rubens's favorite late sixteenth-century Italian theorists, G.-P. Lomazzo. In his highly influential *Trattato*, Lomazzo characterized Hercules, the Tuscan column, and strong man, also grounded in the cube and pyramid, as typologically similar forms exemplary of *robustezza* or "all whose members are stronge, sturdy and raised."[156] Like Lomazzo (in the tradition of Quintilian and Vitruvius), Rubens conceived of the strong man in the *De figuris* sheet as fundamentally governed by a reductive geometric basis grounded in the principle of ideal, three-dimensional, plenitude. This idea was proven through the broad sculptural form of the Farnese Hercules and the strong Tuscan column.[157] As Marjon van der Meulen observed, one of Rubens's Pocketbook diagrams of a Herculean man, "seven heads tall," is derived from Lomazzo.[158]

Rubens also worked to cement a basic geometric formula for his robust male against which his ideal female type could be compared and defined. In addition to describing the geometric forms most appropriate to the robust man in *La Théorie*, he proposed the oval and circle as contrasting geometric figures that best governed the female figure – forms he considered "completely opposed" to the cube and pyramid.[159] According to Jombert's text, the active and robust character of the angular cube and pyramid, most appropriate to the robust man, was "completely opposed" to the "entirely round, delicate and supple" curves governing the female figure. He described the cube and its sharp angles as the base of heroes and athletes, which he contrasted with the

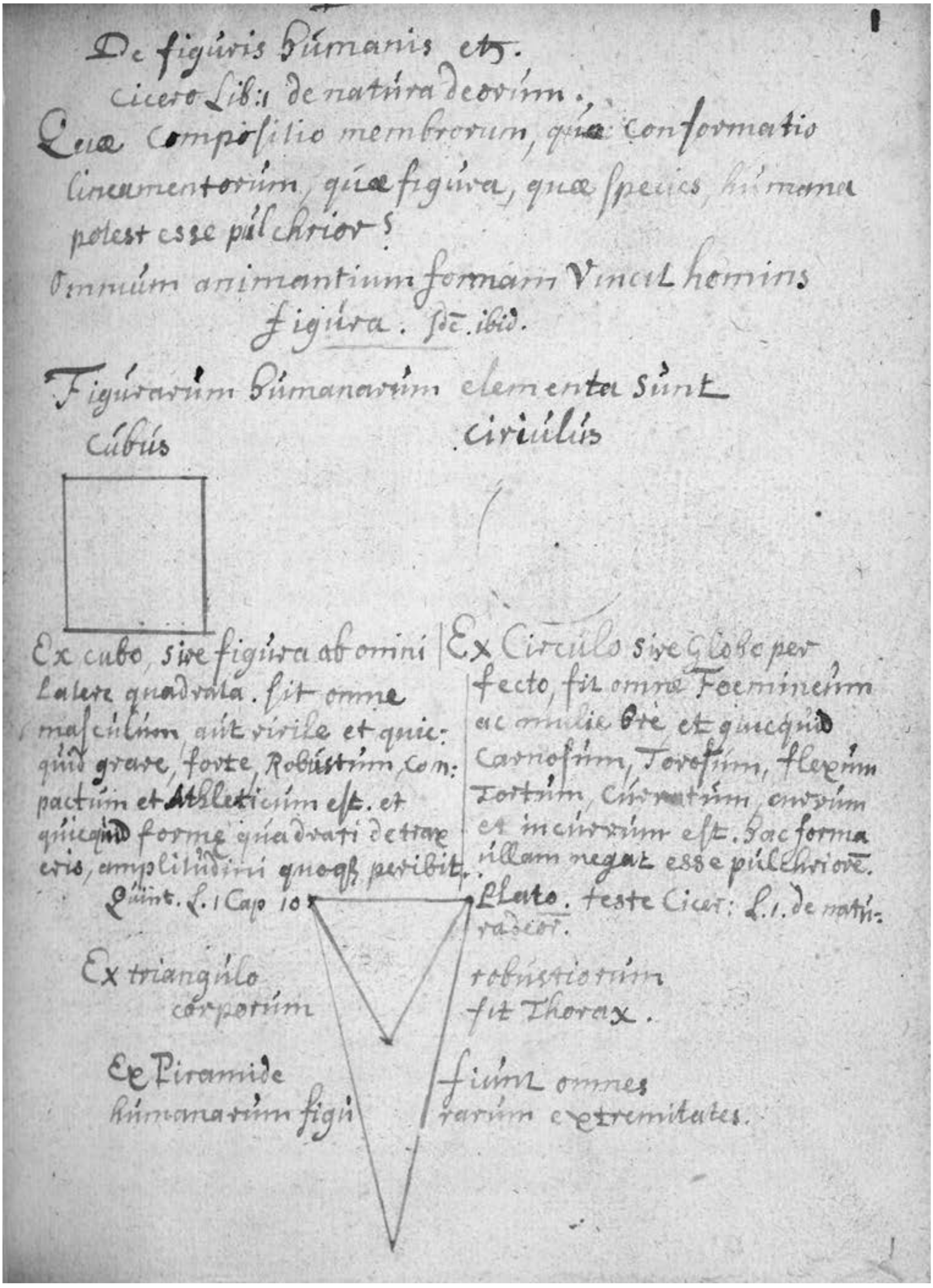


Figure 4.17 After Rubens, *Study from the MS Johnson Pocketbook of Rubens* (*Elements of the Human Figure*), fol. 75r, seventeenth century (MS.1978.PG.1). Credit: The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, London.

enfeebled and diminished form of the female circle which he described, in Jombert's translation, as "tout ce qui est rond, flexible, tortu, corbé."[160] This idea is expressed in a later seventeenth-century copy of the *Elements of the Human Figure* after Rubens's design in the MS Johnson, fol. 75r (London, The Courtauld Gallery; Figure 4.17), that bears related inscriptions.[161] Moreover, in fol. 60r of the MS de Ganay (formerly Paris, Marquis de Ganay collection), the elegant curve is associated with drawings of cross-legged, more immobile female figures, while the males, with separated and bent legs and arms, are associated with angles and figural mobility.[162] Through the reductive forms of the cube, pyramid, and circle, and "proven" through antique sculptures including the Farnese Hercules and the Crouching Venus, Rubens thus explored a basic conceptual formula for governing all human figures and the expression of what he took to be their "essential" characters. At the conceptual heart of his figures were related judgments about the relative degree of the strength/weakness, heat/cold, action/inaction, boldness/timidity, and roughness/elegance of his male versus female figures, grounded in classical and early modern humoral philosophy. This dichotomous way of conceiving the sexes was in part grounded in medieval oppositional thinking. According to Caroline Walker Bynum in her study of gender and religion in the late Middle Ages, "*Male* and *female* were contrasted and asymmetrically valued as intellect/body, active/passive, rational/irrational, reason/emotion, self control/lust, judgment/mercy, and order/disorder."[163] As Rubens's interest in Della Porta's humoral studies in *De humana physiognomonia* further indicates, he evidently placed great stock in the ability of calorically based corporeal typologies, signaled by certain bodily parts, actions, and poses, to communicate such essentializing qualities.[164]

This all goes to say that Rubens's graphic concern with the robust male was not only bound up with providing prodigious, memorable figures for his large-scale *istoria*, but also with his larger classicizing interests in constructing and codifying his most important, ideal, male figural types, and flexing his own humanist muscles in art. Sustained underlying principles grounded in classical rhetoric and more recent Renaissance models and geometry, and an essentially artificial and humoral approach to the body, guided his vision of the ideal male and figural types. In the final section, it is left to explore how Rubens literally embodied these fundamental concepts in a powerfully compact and eloquent graphic argument for virtuous male virility – and by extension, for the essential force and substance of his art – through an updating of the sculptural intelligence of the ancients in two dimensions.

A Robust and Eloquent Argument as Mirror of the Maker

From head to toe, the Boijmans Kneeling Man represents an eloquent incarnation of Rubens's notion of the most perfect, virile male nude, as expressed in Jombert's transcription of *De figuris* and related sheets in the MS Johnson and MS de Ganay. Expressing, in Rubens's words, the "grave, forte, robustum, compactum & athleticum" character of this figural type, and exhibiting the vigorous liveliness, vehemence, and male heat he associated with it in his early oeuvre, the drawing offers a keen reflection of the inimitable signature style of thinking and larger ambitions of the maker. Marked by the creative heat and eloquence of Rubens's prodigious and actively composing intellect and seemingly laboring hand seeking to embody time-honored truths, the drawing offers a graphic mirror of Rubens as the athletic and intellectually nimble "Artificer" who sought to return art itself to classical "health" through a renewed marriage of form and content at the foundations of his art.

As we have already seen, Rubens's inscription on fol. 22r of MS Johnson suggests that an architectural and rhetorical approach likely governed his approach to the correct (*vero*), healthy (*per maner rubarazzo*) male, from the inside out. In *The Painting of the Ancients*, Franciscus Junius further recommended that classically inspired painters should construct the "just right" male from head to toe in a way that notably recalls Lipsius's laconic bodily metaphor for eloquence in the *Epistolica Institutio*.[165] All told, Junius's description constitutes a verbal construction of a physically and mentally superior male that in many ways captures the look of Rubens's model of ideal virility in the Boijmans figure. In Junius's words:

> (As to his figure): His body is just right. He is shorter than the tallest, but taller and more imposing than the average man. The top of his head is round and, a little above his forehead, his curly hair flies back towards the crown of his head . . . His shoulders are well shaped. The upper arms are powerful. The forearms hard, his hands broad. His chest protrudes, his belly is flat. Deep between the ribs his spine divides the expanse of the back. His flanks bulge with strong muscles. In his firm loins reigns vigor. His thigh is fleshy. The joints of the knees are manly indeed. Most worthy of praise are his knees which have very few wrinkles. His legs are supported by swelling calves, but the foot that holds up his sturdy limbs is of moderate size.[166]

Describing what seems to be a particular pictorial model in front of him ("[As to his figure]"), Junius's prescription reads like a bodily equation for the ideal male nude dependent upon both telling details located in well-disposed body parts and an attention to their role in constructing a unified whole. Through his verbal anatomy, Junius implicitly reminded humanist painters that a successful ideal type demanded attention to, and moreover ideological and stylistic consistency in, all of its well-disposed parts. If any one part were neglected, or contradicted the larger intended idea, the meaning of the whole might be ineluctably muddied or changed; and by extension, the figure might fail to persuade of the artist's original, idealizing, intent. While Alberti earlier advocated for figural consistency in his 1435 *Treatise on Painting*, Junius emphasized the importance of the single bodily whole, conceived of as a unity of rhetorically consistent parts that in some ways recalls Leonardo's poetic concern for the parts (*elementi*), or microcosms, of the bodily macrocosm, or universalizing whole. No wonder, then, that even seemingly unheroic parts like the belly, knees, and feet demanded Rubens's and Junius's attention. In sum, for Junius, the best figural artists like Rubens adopted Quintilian's idea of the robust orator who communicated his well-constructed argument as a unified whole, from inside out, beginning to end, head to toe – forcefully and consistently in all of its parts, with few weakening digressions or formal clashes that would threaten the expressive unity or economy of the whole. For Quintilian noted that "the various parts of a speech should not clash (*non pugnantia*); they should not be like strangers (*ignotae*) but rather assembled by something like a social bond (*aliqua societate*)."[167]

Junius associated the well-disposed joining of such external bodily features with the power to communicate (unseen) human emotions or virtues: in the case of the "just right" man, internal strength and moral rectitude. Reflecting an interest in the Albertian tradition of expressing the inward motions of the mind and soul (*affetti*) through external bodily forms, he added elsewhere in *The Painting of the Ancients*

(III.iv.4): "Neither is there any thing which can adde a more lively and forcible grace to the worke, than the likenesse of an outward motion, proceeding from the inward commotions of the minde."[168] In Junius's estimation, humanist artists should incorporate bodily expressions of liveliness, healthy color, and right proportion to express the figure's admirable mental qualities and motivations through the demeanor of the whole body (III.iv.1–7).[169] He observed that artists should elicit a close, even causal, relationship between bodily form and character (III.ix),[170] a prescription that again extends the Albertian emphasis on hands and facial expressions as the chief bodily signs of virtues and vices to the whole body. In his view, the construction of a beautiful body, such as the well-disposed "just right" man, reflected "a good body shaped by an upright mind."[171]

The Boijmans drawing illustrates both the relevance and limitations of Junius's classical head-to-toe model for Rubens's figural construction. Similarly marked by a rounded head, classically curly, cropped hair, broad, protruding shoulders with a separating spine, long, muscular arms and broad hands, a tight, retracted stomach, large, fleshy thighs with wrinkle-free knees and solid joints, swelling calves and a sturdy, supportive foot, the Boijmans figure conforms in many respects to Junius's all-over description of a "just right" male. This further suggests that Junius may also have been informed by Rubens's pictorial ideas. Echoing Junius's formulation, Rubens expressed qualitative ideas of (male) force and liveliness throughout the Boijmans body, and especially in certain crucial zones like the shoulders, thighs, face, and hands, all in one tight, compact graphic package. For Rubens, like Junius, this would have further implied related virtues in the robust draftsman himself. However, drawn with a breadth and height that would clearly exceed a normal man's should the figure stand up (recalling Michelangelo's Moses, or Rubens's sleeping Samson), the Boijmans body was also clearly meant to convey a more superhuman brand of male strength associated in Rubens's oeuvre with Herculean subjects, including Samson or the unusually burly porters in his *The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek*, 1615–18 (Figure 4.5), and Madrid *Adoration* paintings. Recalling the bodily excess of the mature Farnese Hercules, especially when contrasted with Rubens's more youthful, refined ideal types like the *Study for the Figure of Christ on the Cross*, c. 1614–15 (London, British Museum), the Boijmans figure appears comparatively burly and hyperbolic (*surnaturelle*) especially in its upper half – in other words, just a bit more than "just right." Through the combined elements of the prodigious, active body, it expresses a slightly rougher, more mature version of (male) liveliness, strength, and virility matching its more mature, robust maker. In Rubens's work, such details matter.

This point is evidenced in the Boijmans figure's prominent torso that Rubens aptly clothed in a rough attire of muscles. According to Alberti's and Lomazzo's prescriptions, an agitated and lumpy, convex surface myology was considered especially appropriate for the rendering of the muscular bodies of wrestlers or athletes. Such healthy, solid musculature was also associated in the Renaissance, as in antiquity, with the Latin *rubur*, which implied both oaken solidity and hot-blooded roughness and rusticity. Similar associations circulated in Rubens's Antwerp too, especially in the realm of representing the male nude. In *The Painting of the Ancients*, Junius described male nudity as a sort of clothing, or "rough attire," which, like a Tuscan column, was stripped of ornaments and best fitting a wrestler or a stout, lusty, or strong man.[172] Rough nudity was also central to the appropriate expression of the lusty, stout male for its capacity to reveal the figure's appropriate garb of healthy, well-colored skin

and strong muscles. According to Junius (citing Quintilian; *Inst. Orat.* VIII.3.6): "The dignitie belonging to a man [*ornatus virilis*] must be stout and uncorrupted; it cannot abide an effeminate smoothnesse, nor such a coulour as is procured by choice painting; seeing bloud and strength must make it goodly and faire."[173]

While Quintilian was writing about a manly sort of oratory that he compared with painting, Junius applied his remarks to the picturing of the male figure itself. To this end, Junius warned against adding obscuring, corruptive "strumpet-like ornamentation" and cautioned painters against emasculating and shaming athletic male nudes with superficial and more "feminine" adornments ("womanish and luxurious trimming").[174] These highly gendered and qualitative assessments grounded in classical rhetoric hold important implications for understanding some of Rubens's choices in rendering his figures. In contrast to the quality of "effeminate smoothness," expressed in the smooth, rounded contours in his drawing of the *Three Graces* (Warsaw, University Library Print Room) for example, Rubens appealed to the rugged clothing of the athletic male musculature in the Boijmans figure, suitably rendered in heavy, halting, and sometimes labored applications of chalk, to further engender his robust male.

This brings us back to the all-important issue of models. As Rubens expressed in his early treatises and the MS Johnson sheet (Courtauld), the strong, "excellent" model of the third-century Farnese Hercules, the monumental marble rediscovered in 1540 in the Baths of Caracalla which Rubens first studied on the spot in the Villa Farnese in Rome, provided the basis for his ideal male type expressing oaken solidity and strength, and Rubens's male porter figures too. Along with the suffering Hellenistic Laocoön (Vatican Museums) that Rubens also studied in Rome, the melancholic Farnese Hercules further provided Rubens with an available source for studying character or internal emotive states in both facial and all-over bodily terms. The Boijmans sheet's emphasis on figural alertness and vehemence, most obviously manifested in the serious open eye, raised brow, and tightly clenched hands, situates it in this Hellenistic-inspired tradition of using the whole body, including the facial expression and hands, to express otherwise unseen stirrings beneath the skin.

Still, the question of the relationship of the drawing to the Farnese Hercules model is a fraught one. After all, the *look* of the Boijmans figure does not obviously reflect the specific *look* of the Farnese Hercules. The Farnese Hercules is marked by a more extreme musculature, a maturer facial and bodily type, and a more melancholy appearance than the Boijmans nude. Rubens's drawing after the Farnese Hercules head, c. 1600–08 (London, The Courtauld Gallery; Figure 4.18) confirms the more youthful, unbearded Boijmans face which bears closer similarity to the slender, more youthful, athletic male types in antiquity with more rounded heads and short cropped hair, including the Uffizi Wrestlers and the Borghese Gladiator. In the psychological realm, the heavy, downtrodden demeanor of the Farnese Hercules also contrasts with the comparatively bright-eyed *Kneeling Man* who looks and rises energetically upwards. When compared with the Farnese Hercules, Rubens's *Kneeling Man* appears more graceful and refined, and more alert. Assuming the Boijmans sheet borrows from this model, as Rubens essentially claimed all of his robust male figures did in Jombert's transcription, the nature of the emulation must certainly run deeper than surface similarities.

While the Boijmans drawing cannot be counted amongst the more obvious, straightforward examples of Rubens's concern for "enlivening" antique statuary, it still owes

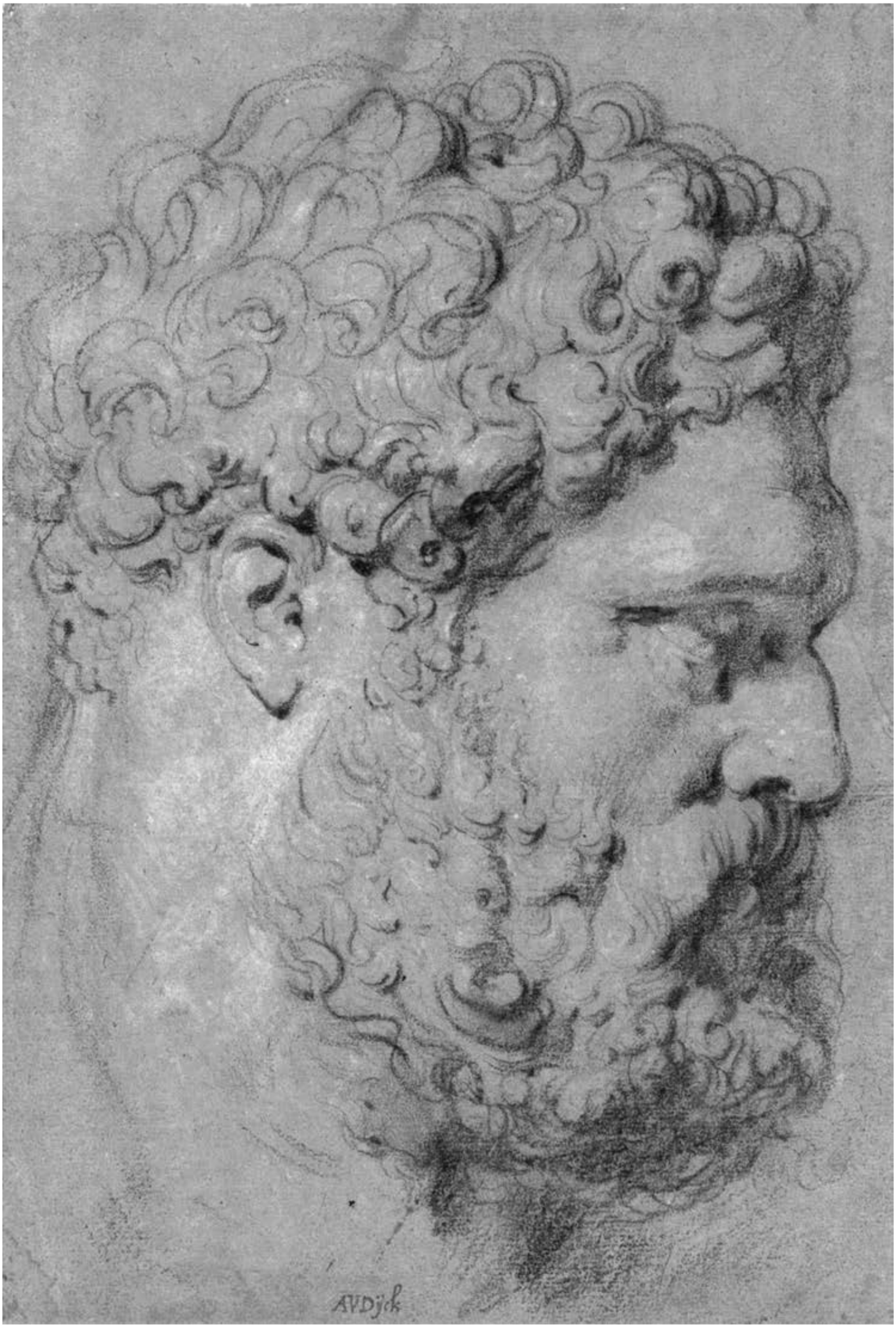


Figure 4.18 Peter Paul Rubens, *Head of the Farnese Hercules* (recto), c. 1600–08, black and white chalk on grey paper, 363 × 245 mm (D.1978.PG.53). Credit: The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, London.

a profound debt to the Farnese Hercules and other classical models. To answer how, though, requires attending to the deeper ideas and more latent graphic structures of Rubens's anatomy – that is, by paying attention to the ways that the "sculptural intelligence" of the Farnese Hercules and other robust classical types, as formulated by Rubens in his figural treatise and Pocketbook drawings, plays out in the drawing. For the Farnese Hercules, this means looking beyond its surface appearance, or material, to the *ideas* long associated with the model. These include the figure's oaken solidity and bodily plenitude, and its underlying geometric basis in the cube and pyramid which Rubens associated with it and the robust male in *De figuris* and the two-sided MS Johnson Pocketbook sheet (fol. 427) in the Princes Gate Collection. Lomazzo, the first writer to cite the Farnese Hercules as the basis of the type appropriate for strong men in his *Trattato*,[175] likely inspired Rubens in this line of thinking, both in his earlier Farnese Hercules Pocketbook sheets, and the Boijmans drawing.

Examining the two-sided MS Johnson Farnese Hercules sheet with an eye towards excavating its underlying ideology and geometric logic helps to elucidate the nature and form of Rubens's deep-seated, emulative debt to the classical model in the Boijmans sheet. On the recto of his two-sided Sketchbook sheet (Plate 35), Rubens offered a geometrically and architecturally minded formula for rendering an extremely robust man proven through the perfection of the ancient model:

> A man. Heracles. The form of Hercules or of an extremely robust man has its basis in a cube (as the Tuscan kind of column which is compared to athletes.) . . . From a cube or a perfect square [comes] the breadth of the chest, back and shoulder-blades, and the depth of the chest and back and loins, and . . . of the buttocks deeply undergirded [or trussed]. And again in the head the very full temples, the great and exceedingly fleshy muscles overhanging the eyes relate to the square of the forehead; to a perfect square indeed [relate] the hairs of the angle of the jawbones corresponding to the hairy temples. The proof of the cube is from the face of the Farnese Hercules or from an antique head.[176]

Supported by drawings and an inscription on the sheet's obverse (Plate 36), the Courtauld sheet clarifies the relationship of Rubens's cubic structure to his graphic representation of sculptural plenitude found in certain "superior" zones of the athletic male body, including the upper torso, buttocks, thighs, and head. As he expressed on his inscription on the sheet's verso, Rubens applied a cubic structure to suggest figural plenitude or breadth (*Crassitudo*) through the body's upper torso: "Ex correspondentia pectoris et dorsi et scapularum cum Mammis Nascatur Crassitudo cubi." As Marjon van der Meulen observed, the cubic basis of Rubens's strong male was in part also grounded in classical ideas found in Vitruvius's *De Architectura* (first century BCE) and in Pomponius Gauricus's Renaissance treatise on sculpture, *De Sculptura* (1504).[177] The ideal geometries of Luca Pacioli may also have been on Rubens's mind here, especially in relationship to the cubic underpinnings of Hercules's head on the sheet's recto and on fol. 57r (London, Courtauld Gallery; Figure 4.19). According to Jaap Bolten, one of Pacioli's most important contributions to northern approaches to the figure was his exploration of head construction based in geometric principles.[178]

Rubens's tendency to separate the body into cubic zones – reflected in a literal way on the Boijmans sheet in the Michelangelesque detail of a bent right leg at bottom left on the drawing – is also expressed in cubic drawings of the Farnese Hercules on

both the recto and verso of the MS Johnson sheet, fol. 427 (Plates 35, 36). On the sheet's recto, studies of the Farnese torso and head are graphically overlaid with a pronounced cubic structure; the accompanying inscription reiterates the importance of this principle. On the verso of the MS Johnson, Rubens emphasized significant zones of the Herculean body, especially the buttocks, upper back, legs, and chest, through strong, reinforced, contours also demonstrating their cubic basis. Significantly, Rubens ended his inscription on the recto with the declaration: "The proof of the cube is from the face of the Farnese Hercules, or from an antique head." In other words, the idea of demonstrating, or proving, the geometric underpinnings of his robust male figures in drawing through the sculptural intelligence of esteemed classical models – or, in Leonardesque terms, constructing a *dimostrazione* (proof) of *Idea* (concept) through *elementi* (representative parts of the whole) expressed through *disegno* (design/drawing) – seems to have been on his mind all along. So too, evidently, was painting, in which Rubens often added Farnese Hercules types that were similarly squarer than the original sculpture.[179]

In other bodily sites of the *Kneeling Man*, the underlying cubic basis is more subtly indicated. Reflecting Rubens's privileging of the Farnese face as proof of the cube in the robust man, this principle is most clearly manifested in the Boijmans *Kneeling Man*'s visage. The latter figure's boxy face and deeply inset, shadowed eyes squarely framed by a shadow descending from the temples and a squared brow, directly echo Rubens's idea for the cubic basis of the Farnese Hercules eyes illustrated best in the drawings after his designs in the MS Johnson, fol. 57r (Figure 4.19). A series of short vertical and horizontal lines added to the Boijmans figure's forehead further capture what Rubens characterized in his Farnese inscription as "the very full temples, the great and exceedingly fleshy muscles overhanging the eyes [which] relate to the square of the forehead." One short, but telling, vertical mark located precisely at the mid-line of the Boijmans browline also directly reflects the cubic approach in the MS Johnson studies, as does the mask-like treatment of the face, which like the Farnese Hercules sketches, Rubens conceived of largely in planes.

Like the Hercules drawings on MS Johnson fol. 427, the Boijmans nude also features an expansive upper back, and disproportionately large, squarish buttocks that suggest that the geometric underpinnings of Rubens's Hercules also governed the substantial width and depth of the Boijmans robust chest, back, and loins. ("From a cube or a perfect square [comes] the breadth of the chest, back and shoulder-blades, and the depth of the chest and back and loins, and . . . of the buttocks deeply undergirded [or trussed].")[180] Based on Rubens's Latin inscription on the verso of the MS Johnson sheet ("Ex correspondentia pectoris et dorsi et scapularum cum Mammis Nascatur Crassitudo cubi"), Rubens particularly understood expansive bodily thickness (*Crassitudo*) to be a crucial component of rendering a strong, cubic figure (Plate 36). According to his demonstration, a perfect cubic correspondence between the chest and back, and especially the highest points of the raised nipples and shoulder blades from front to back, provided the most potent visual cues for male *Crassitudo* in the body's crucial upper zone. Rubens's graphic emphasis in the *Kneeling Man* on the plenitude of the two shoulder blades, accentuated in black chalk, and the unusually raised, visible breast, embody these cubic concerns with bodily thickness in an obliquely viewed upper torso. Indeed, this innovative sculptural expression of classically inspired bodily strength in drawing extended from the inside out, from head to toe, and from front to back.

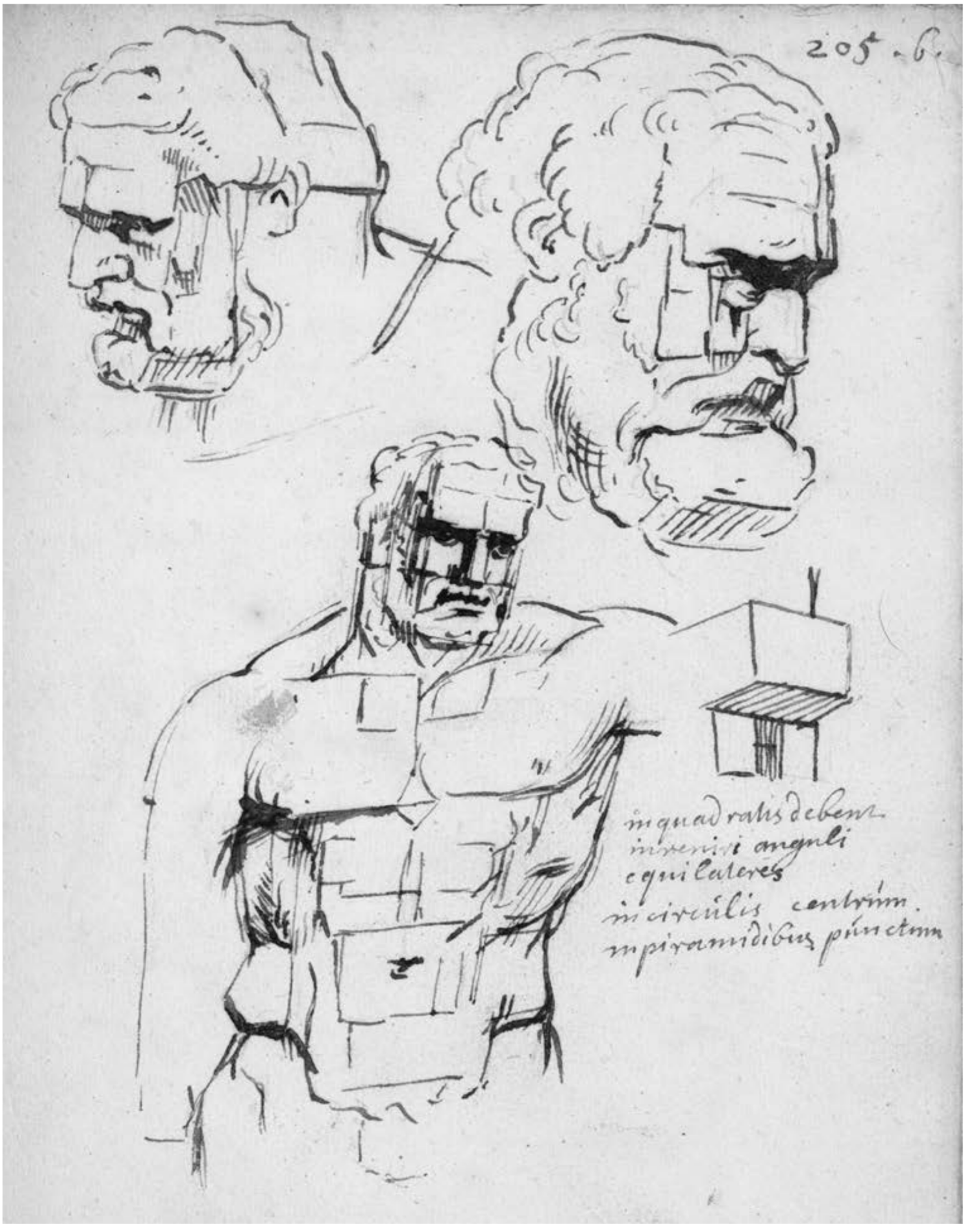


Figure 4.19 After Rubens, *Study from the MS Johnson Pocketbook of Rubens* (*Cubic Demonstration of a Robust Man*), fol. 57r, seventeenth century, pen and ink (MS.1978.PG.1.057). Credit: The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, London.

As Leonardo demonstrated in his own Euclidean-informed human and botanical drawings (some known to Rubens through the sculptor Pompeo Leoni), a geometric basis for anatomies offered a time-honored means to demonstrate the divine perfection of the human figure, and by extension, Nature herself. On another more practical level, Lomazzo's geometric underpinnings of the Farnese Hercules surely provided Rubens an expedient, easily reproducible strategy for representing the strong, sculptural male body – what Lomazzo called "roundnesse and thickness" and Rubens called *Crassitudo* – on an otherwise flimsy, two-dimensional, paper surface. In Lomazzo's words: "Geometrie . . . it representeth to the eie the third Dimension, which is roundnesse and thicknesse; and so maketh the bodie to appear upon a flatte, where naturally it is not."[181] This meant representing the figure like his underlying classical models: as if in the round.

As further clarified in *La Théorie de la Figure Humaine*, the angular pyramid – and the classical sculptures most associated with it – also governed Rubens's most virile figures including the *Kneeling Man*. These included the inverted, muscle-laden, pyramidal torsos most notably found in the Belvedere Torso (Rome,Vatican Museum; Figure 4.20) and *Laocoön and His Two Sons* – both works he frequently drew in Rome, often from multiple vantage points. In the case of the Boijmans sheet, the Belvedere Torso seems to have offered a particularly fruitful model, as it did for the figure at far right in Rubens's c. 1609 oil sketch (Groningen, Groninger Museum) for the *Adoration* in the Liechtenstein Princely Collections.[182] One of Rubens's red chalk emulations of the sculpture (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; Plate 37), for example, highlights the greater emphasis he placed on the model's inverted pyramid shape, squared buttocks, thin waist, and the developed and curved surface myology of the strong, engaged back. Depicting the Belvedere Torso from the same oblique angle from the back (albeit in reverse) as the Boijmans figure, the New York drawing similarly features a forward, angular bend in the torso, and a similarly gently curved, dividing spinal line that cuts deeply between two raised halves of the muscular back. The knotted musculature of the Belvedere back, particularly as captured in the New York sheet, is also evidenced in the Boijmans sheet, as is the emphasis on translating the classical model's hard, marble medium into a tight clothing of living, pliable flesh through a subtle treatment of often smudged chalk. A pronounced emphasis on reflected light off the *Kneeling Man*'s "raised" back muscles also points to the Belvedere Torso (or Rubens's emulation of it) as a likely source.

Even the underlying "bone" of the Boijmans left thigh and hip, and relatively flat, insubstantial treatment of the underside of the buttocks, likely reflect the impact of Rubens's studies of the Belvedere Torso. In the Vatican marble, the legs are similarly broken above the knee (and formally appear much like the underlying lead-white "bone" of the thigh in the drawing), and the buttocks are wholly missing – a likely borrowing in Rubens's study that is more clearly evidenced when viewing the Belvedere Torso from the side. In this context, the protruding, underlying muscle of the Boijmans hip, expressed through a darkened patch in black chalk near the bone-like area of white heightening, might also be due in part to the form and coloration of the stone seen in the same area of the Belvedere Torso's right thigh. In other words, the underlying "bones" of Rubens's figure may not have been conceived of as *actual* bones, but as the marble, antique model itself. If so, the sculptural intelligence of its marble referent would have informed the drawing quite literally at its graphic core.



Figure 4.20 *Belvedere Torso*, first century BCE, marble, 156.5 cm high. Rome, Vatican Museums, Museo Pio-Clementino (inv. 1192). Credit: © 2016. Photo Scala, Florence.

Equally, Rubens arguably placed great graphic faith in the inverted pyramid of the bent upper thorax – marked in the drawing by broad shoulders, an uplifted breast, and a relatively trim ("less thick") waist more typical of his elegant Commodus as Hercules type – to register the geometric breadth and thickness of his figure. Here again, Lomazzo's ideas come back into play: this time, in his advocacy of the serpentine, inverted pyramidal form – which he labeled as "S" in his *Trattato* – as the form that best expressed virtuous mobility and grace in an enlivened, hot-blooded male. Inspired by what he called Michelangelo's *figura serpentinata*, Lomazzo's prescription, as translated by Richard Haydocke, is worth quoting at length in relationship to the Boijmans sheet:

> [One] should alwaies make a figure Pyramidall, Serpentlike, and multiplied by one, two or three . . . For the greatest grace and life that a picture can have is, that it expresse Motion: which the Painters call the Spirite of the picture. Nowe there is no forme so fitte to express this motion, as that of the flame of fire, which according to Aristotle, is an elemente most active of all others: because the forme of the flame thereof is most apt for motion & for it hath a Conus, or sharpe pointe, wherewith it seemeth to divide the aire, that so it may ascende to his proper sphere, so that a picture having this forme will be most beautifull . . . now this is to be understood after two sortes: either that the Conus of the Pyramid bee placed upwardes and the base downewardes, as in the fier; or else the contrarywise, with the base upwards and the Conus downwardes . . . In the first it expresseth the width and largeness of the picture, about the legges and garments belowe . . . In the seconde, it sheweth the figure biggest in the upper partes, by representing either both the shoulders, or both the arms, showing one legge and hiding the other . . .[183]

For Rubens, like Lomazzo, the inverted pyramid offered the basis for the robust male as broadest and strongest in its upper parts, diminishing toward the base of the back. On the verso of Rubens's MS Johnson fol. 427 Sketchbook sheet (London, Courtauld Institute Gallery; Plate 36), he registered the significance of Lomazzo's form to his own visual formula, by clearly labeling the head of his full-length Hercules at left with Lomazzo's letter "S" to signal the male figure's inverted pyramidal shape.[184] In certain drawings of the Belvedere Torso and the robust male, Rubens visibly heightened this pyramidal effect by narrowing the waist and increasing the breadth of the shoulders.[185]

Crucial for a further understanding of Rubens's figural demonstration in the Boijmans sheet, though, was Rubens's merging of his two geometric conceptions for the robust male – cubic and pyramidal – in a small, distilled contour drawing at far left of the MS Johnson sheet. There, in a strikingly elegant example of graphic problem solving and figural condensation, Rubens simultaneously expressed figural width (i.e., the distance from shoulder to shoulder) and sculptural thickness, or plenitude (i.e., the distance from breast to back) on a two-dimensional surface. This formula involved a three-quarter, oblique view of the torso focusing on one enlarged breast, an arm, and two sides of the back, separated and amplified by a central dividing line. This strategy of creating the appearance of breadth and space *between* the male shoulders and chest contrasts sharply with Rubens's general approach to the female nude, in which he expressed salience through the curved, often ovoid or circular, expression of extruding flesh, especially in the breasts, stomach, and thighs. In keeping with this small, but critical, graphic distillation, Rubens placed pronounced emphasis

in the Boijmans nude on the amplitude of the shoulders and breast, as he did in other half-figure, three-quarter view designs of male robust torsos related to *De figuris*. One of these, a copied drawing after Rubens in the MS Johnson (fol. 47r), illustrates this point (Figure 4.21).[186]

In the Boijmans sheet, this geometrically-informed strategy for achieving figural plenitude is heightened by Rubens's stylistic choices too. In addition to reinscribing the billowing curves of the *Kneeling Man*'s receding right shoulder to amplify the effect of muscular prodigiousness on the far side of the back, he added two simple marks in black chalk on the half of the back closest to the viewer signaling the placement and amplitude of the near shoulder blade. By turning his figure at an oblique angle, and emphasizing the reach of the receding shoulder, he emphasized the girth of the shoulders – one of his most crucial zones for the expression of the robust male type, including porters. In effect, by underpinning his male form with three-dimensional geometric principles, Rubens attempted to solve the sculptural problem of how to express not only bodily largesse, but also solidity – what Junius likely meant by "stiffenesse" – on a two-dimensional support.[187] Norgate helpfully put it this way: "The end of drawing being nothing else but soe to deceive the Eyes, by the deceiptfull mingling and withcraft of lights & shadowes, that round embost and sollid bodyes in Nature may seem round embost and sollid in Plano."[188]

By emphasizing three of four salient points of the cubic male torso in his three-quarter view – achieved through the inventive formula of showing one breast and two shoulders – Rubens expressed not only the breadth and solidity of Lomazzo's inverted pyramid, but also the thickness and volume of his classical cubic structure. While Michelangelo employed a similar graphic method for the representation of sculptural three-dimensionality and breadth on a two-dimensional surface in his *figura serpentinata*, as in his red chalk drawing of a seated male nude that Rubens once likely owned (Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina; Figure 4.22), Rubens pushed his formula to the limits of representational viability, removing Michelangelo's figural twist in favor of new graphic tactics that heightened the torso's breadth and thickness (*Crassitudo*).[189] In one graphic moment on the sheet's right side, Rubens seems to have even overwritten an earlier, narrower, contour for the figure's waist in opaque white to give it a thicker, boxier appearance. This correction suggests that he wished to make the *Kneeling Man*'s waist appear thicker and more powerful, even as he retained the cubic aspect of the torso as well. He also used other graphically aggressive strategies to heighten the figure's sculptural appearance. These included multiplying and thickening the shoulder lines through aggressive, "flexed" contours, reinscribing the curves of the dividing line of the spine, emphasizing the size and volume of the breast by placing it in profile, and adding a deep underarm shadow.

To intensify the sculptural effect, Rubens even played Michelangelo's graphic trick – highlighted in the pointing figure at upper right in Michelangelo's *Studies for the Sistine Ceiling and the Tomb of Pope Julius II* (*The Genius Accompanying the Libyan Sibyl*) (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum; Plate 38) – of suggesting three-dimensionality by extending certain marks in the eyes, nose, and especially the shoulder, beyond the figure's external contours. By multiplying, blurring, and flexing his contour lines in a manner befitting his Renaissance predecessor, especially in the far right shoulder, and applying white heightening beyond the loosened boundaries of the figure, Rubens implied the presence of the far side of the figure otherwise denied in a two-dimensional art like drawing. This was a representational limitation he knew

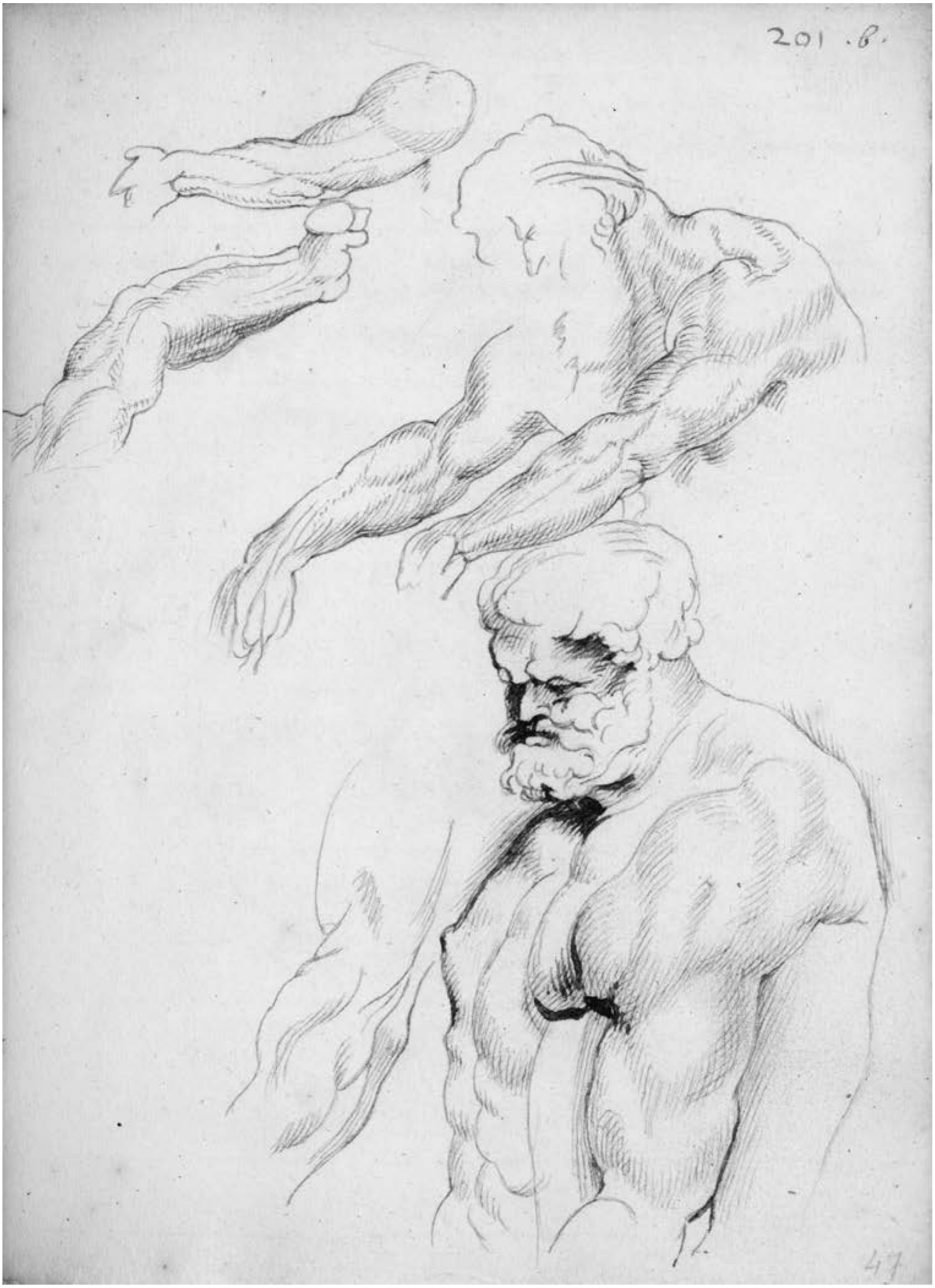


Figure 4.21 After Peter Paul Rubens, *Study from the MS Johnson Pocketbook of Rubens* (*Study of Male Torso*, three-quarters view), MS Johnson, fol. 47r, seventeenth century, pen and ink (MS.1978.PG.1). Credit: The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, London.



Figure 4.22 Michelangelo, *Seated Young Man and Two Right Arms*, 1510–11, red chalk, heightened with white, over traces of stylus underdrawing, 27.2 × 19.2 cm. (inv. 120r). Credit: Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.

well through Leonardo's drawings of the male nude, such as his *Study of a Nude Man, Seen from Behind* (Windsor Castle, Royal Collection; Plate 39), and Leonardo's related observations on the inability of strict conscription to ever represent more than one side, or exactly half, of a figure.[190]

Related ideas circulated in Rubens's circles too. In *The Painting of the Ancients*, Junius recommended that humanist artists add increasingly thin, indistinct contour lines to the far sides of their figures, heightened by subtle coloristic blending suggesting depth, in order to represent both the outermost visible edges of the body, and also those parts hidden from view. In this way, Rubens – like Parhassius – would have shown great skill not only by representing the body's extremities, but also, in Junius's words, by "ending with a promise of other things behinde; and setting forth also what shee concealeth."[191] Emulating what Junius called Pliny's and Michelangelo's "uttermost" lines or "unrestrained extremities" (*indeterminatos terminos*) provided Rubens a graphic mechanism for further overcoming the limitations of linearity and drawing itself. According to Aldrich and Fehl, "[Junius] also hints here at one of the most engaging charms of traditional pictorial art, namely, that painting allows the viewers to imagine that in the space created by the artist they could, if they wished, also move to see and touch the figures from behind, and even find there other objects obscured by those they do in fact see."[192] In the end, though, the unusual faith Rubens placed in the ability of line alone to do a sculptor's work is perhaps best illustrated by comparing the Boijmans right shoulder with Van Dyck's version of the *Kneeling Man* (Plate 33). In place of Rubens's "unrestrained extremities" and billowing, flexed contours that stimulate the viewer's imagination to fill in what has been concealed, Van Dyck opted for a more literal sign of three-dimensionality: the form of the figure's far right arm.

There are two final ramifications of Rubens's underlying geometric structure for the style of the *Kneeling Man* worth considering. In Rubens's inscription on the recto of MS Johnson, fol. 427 (Plate 35), he described how the cubic zones of the robust male should be visually sustained and supported through a principle of so-called "undergirding" or "trussing." Elsewhere, in his *Cubic Demonstration of a Robust Man* (Figure 4.19), Rubens depicted his formal mechanism for the architectural undergirding of substantial figural weight above. This involved an angular application of shadow beneath a block-like area of light to achieve the effect of visual support and volume. Using a similar approach, Rubens added a cubic shaded area above the Boijmans eye to underscore the depth of the socket and the overhanging flesh of the squared forehead above. He also broadly "supported" the underside of the man's substantial squared buttocks at left through flat, angular, and heavy shading. This inventive technique of using graphic "trussing" as a way to create the appearance of supporting mass also provides one explanation for the unusual largesse of the Boijmans figure's lower torso. If Lomazzo's inverted pyramid or "S" structure informs its torso, his notion of the righted pyramid, or turned "~", which shows the body as strongest and widest in its thighs and legs, inflects the lower half of the Boijmans drawing.[193] Like the Tuscan column to which Rubens compared his robust male – two elements which hardly coincidentally appear together in his later modello of *Abraham and Melchizedek* of c. 1621 (Washington, National Gallery of Art) – the relative width of the *Kneeling Man*'s buttocks and legs recalls Lomazzo's and Serlio's characterization of the column's substantial base as providing ample support for massive, weighty structures above.[194] In this light, one might even consider Rubens's robust males, which frequently occupy

the bottom of his painted compositions, as pictorial and conceptual trussing on which his compositions were literally and metaphorically built.

Vestiges of Rubens's geometric approach are also manifested in his essentially angular approach to (male) flexion and mobility that owes a profound debt to classical athletic nudes like the Borghese Gladiator. In one of his lost early theoretical sheets of *Male Figures in Movement and Female Figures at Rest*, known today through a copy in the MS de Ganay (formerly Paris, Collection of Marquis de Ganay, fol. 60 recto),[195] Rubens contrasted the theme of male mobility, expressed in the separated bent legs and harsh angles of the male figure, with the relative immobility of the female body, expressed in the curved, closed legs of the female form beneath. Echoing the sharp, angle-dominated cube (opposed to the enfeebled curves of the circle), he employed incisive figural angles in the Boijmans sheet as visual keys for incipient, forceful male action and virility.[196] As in the Uffizi Wrestlers (Figure 4.13), and even the so-called Borghese Gladiator, c. 100 BCE (Paris, Louvre; inv. MR 224) that entered the collection of Cardinal Scipione Borghese in Rome before 1611, these angular moments appear mostly in the figures' engaged, crooked arms and tightly bound fists, and in bent knees and splayed, active legs. Rubens at times even graphically reinforced these angles for a more pronounced visual effect, as in the area of the underside of the bent left knee. What is worth further underscoring here is the significance and artifice of the Boijmans figure's otherwise seemingly naturalistic pose: how, in particular, the angular bend of the figure's limbs, and their obvious separation from the body, similarly stand as part of what Sharon Fermor called a "network of gendered references focused on the moving body" in early modern Europe – here, emphasizing male mobility, and incipient forceful action, or *gagliardezza*.[197] In the context of the figure's overtly flexed appendages, its rising action, and muscular salience, this connotation of vigorous action was almost certainly meant, as it was in the Borghese Gladiator, to evoke a prodigious sort of male energy and athleticism.[198]

If Rubens represented an energetic version of male robust mobility in the figure's pose and muscular back, however, he reified these qualities in the curving facture of the billowing right shoulder. In the context of Quintilian's interest in *flexus*, or curvature as an inflection of motion, and Michelangelo's graphic precedent in his serpentine nudes, Rubens cast the Boijmans shoulder in a series of undulating contours which stop and start, thicken and diminish – the kinds of animated contours Roger de Piles believed evoked the liveliness and true character of flesh (*veritable caractère de chair*) that contrasted with the *contours antiques* he associated with the hardness of stone.[199] In his *Cours de peinture*, De Piles noted that conscriptive contours, to the degree to which they were rendered relaxed or inflated, indicated the degree of the figure's action and purpose.[200] He also added that flexed contours (those with *une inflexion*) were best for imitating the spirit or character (*cet esprit*) of living flesh. He further claimed they represented one of the central features (*marques de distinction*) of Rubens's approach to the nude.[201] Similarly, Joshua Reynolds praised Rubens's drawings for their positive qualities of line and contour, especially the "flowing liberty and freedom of his outline, the animated pencil."[202]

As a metaphor for liveliness and animation, these living, flexed contours contrast with Rubens's straighter, more continuous contours which he used in the expression of the hard, cold, stasis of marble, or literally dead or recumbent figures.[203] To instill life and motion into the form and substance of his most vigorous subjects, Rubens often depended upon such seemingly rapid, serpentine contours to connote figural

mobility and incipient movement, seen elsewhere in the broad, muscular expanses of the Laocoön's back, or Michelangelo's drawings of the strong male nude. To heighten the inflection of mobility in his living contour, Rubens may have even also looked to the flexed drawings of seated male nudes by Jacopo Tintoretto who provided him enormous inspiration around 1610–11 for his energetic recasting of the San Rocco *Raising of the Cross* in St. Walpurgis.[204] In this, Parhassius's model would not have been lost on Rubens either. According to Edward Wouk, Parhassius was said to "delineate his contours in a manner that both expressed the boundaries of human form in motion while disclosing the inner structure those boundaries conceal."[205]

In the interests of enlivening antique statuary and making figures that in De Piles's words appeared "more lively and more natural than Nature herself,"[206] Rubens in the end ensured that the Boijmans figure consistently embodied the classical and Renaissance rhetorical virtues of both energy and *vivicità*, or liveliness.[207] Like other graphic examples of more obviously "enlivened sculpture" in his oeuvre, such as his *Hercules Standing over Discord* (London, British Museum),[208] Rubens rendered the figure's dark eyes wide open and alert, its limbs raised and separated from its body, its fists clenched, and toes flexed. In early modern humanist circles, such features would have bespoken not only the figure's lively (male) agility and vehemance, but also the figure's good character and mental acuity. Since antiquity, eyes (the "soule's window") and hands acted as the most important indices of character and intention, and were understood as indicative of the demeanor of the whole body.[209] Large, open, black eyes with raised eyebrows, like those in the Boijmans drawing, would likely have been understood to signal an alert, and likely spiritually awake, admirable character, as would have the upward cast of the head.[210] In contrast to the Louvre *Crouched Man* who looks downward, the Boijmans treatment signals that Rubens likely conceived the two figures as possessing different internal qualities or characters: the former (following Junius's characterization) expressing perhaps a more churlish form of humility, and the latter, earnest intention, engagement, or consent.[211] Similarly, clenched hands and mobile arms, and even the active neck expressed through a jumble of short, incisive chalk marks that rise to its nape, would have evoked for Rubens's humanist viewers the qualities of extreme (male) energy, force, and liveliness – what Junius (borrowing from Quintilian) termed *energia*.[212] As one scholar postulated, in Lipsian Neostoic circles the metaphors of athletic training and clenched hands may also have symbolized the desire summarized in *De Constantia* to steel oneself against undue emotional disturbances by taking up "weapons" of the mind and body.[213]

To further animate and breathe life into the Boijmans figure, Rubens simultaneously evoked the translucence and heat of human flesh in the highly lit, visually compelling area of the near half of the back. Here, Rubens took pains to soften the abrupt edges of the muscular, black shadows, a means he described in his treatise *On The Imitation of Antique Statuary* for distinguishing the warm, translucent flesh of living bodies from cold, marble sculpture. Rubens wrote:

> Shadows especially are different from what one sees in nature; flesh, skin and cartilage by their translucency, in many cases soften the abruptness of the edges of black patches and shadows, which the stone of statues, on the contrary, by its opacity inexorably makes doubly abrupt. Add that living bodies have certain dimples, changing shape at every moment, and owing to the flexibility of the

> skin, now contracted and expanded . . . In the high-lights also, statues are quite unlike anything human, for they have a stony luster and a harsh brightness which give the surface a more pronounced relief than is right, or, at any rate, dazzles the eyes.[214]

In the Boijmans drawing, Rubens expressed the suppleness of warm human flesh through uneven, yet soft, shading of the interior ovoid contours, loosely suggesting the presence of, and smooth transition between, individual muscles. By applying lightly shaded, smudged ovoid areas to denote shallow muscular indentations, and white heightening to denote reflective light off its highest points, he – like Michelangelo before him – expressed the effect of smooth dimpled flesh underlied by firm, solid musculature. Rubens's approach likely derived not only from Michelangelo's graphic studies on the flexibility of skin, but his sculptural treatment as well. In his statue of Hercules Pomarius, which Rubens copied, Michelangelo covered his bronze with "shallow indentations and minute ridges created by delicate hammering," which according to Paul Joannides, "break up and diffuse the fall of light, giving the statuette, despite its careful finish, a flesh-like, painterly, softness which enhances both its vigour and its mass."[215] To achieve a similar effect in the Boijmans drawing, Rubens rendered open, ovoid contours to capture receding shadow, while using the light paper and white heightening to denote the *tonus* of advancing flesh. In this way, he suggested convex myological fullness.[216] This Plinian approach is witnessed most clearly in two pen-and-ink studies after Rubens's design of the Belvedere Torso's back (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst; Figure 4.23). Like Leonardo before him, he expressed figural strength and solidity in a largely topical fashion, similarly emphasizing the subtlety of muscular transitions. Contrary to the "hardness of style" associated with novice drawings of classical sculpture, Rubens approached his large-folio studies of the male nude, grounded in the strength and solidity of his classical model, as living, breathing subjects who appear to move and stir of their own accord.[217] His choice of the warm, beige-colored paper, and the graphic medium most suited to rendering the softness and pliability of flesh – chalk – further helped him create what Junius called a "deceitfull similitude of Life and Motion" by expressing the natural properties of human flesh through a "lineall picture."[218] In contrast to the cold, blue paper supports that Dutch draftsmen often used for their figure studies, the beige paper reinforced the impression of warmth and good coloring thought to characterize male health.[219] According to Norgate, colored paper also acted as a half-tone when used with black and white chalk, making the sensation of "roundness" or figural three-dimensionality seem "more instant."[220]

Throughout this case study, it has been argued that the key aesthetic choices Rubens made in constructing his figure had everything to do with his attempts to embody classicizing concepts about the robust man in a new, more apparently naturalistic, graphic model which could carry his most important compositions and ideas about painting. These aesthetic choices also ultimately include the qualities of figural vehemence and grace which he believed best characterized both figural excellence and his art. For how Rubens incorporated these qualities into the Boijmans sheet, we must turn again to Lomazzo, who earlier anthropomorphized Quintilian's concept of *robustia* as forcible oratory into an anatomy of *robustezza*, or the strong male nude. Significant for Rubens's own work, *robustezza* in Lomazzo's writing becomes a head-to-toe metaphor for the powerful and purposeful man. According to Lomazzo,



Figure 4.23 After Peter Paul Rubens, *Two Views of the Torso Belvedere*, early seventeenth century, pen and brown ink, 228 × 339 mm. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen (inv. KKSGB5625). Photo: SMK Foto.

> Strength [*robustezza*] hath lustie, stowte, and sturdie actions: as to looke bigge, and raise himselfe stowtelie uppon his legges, alwaies composing his bodie with a good carriage; not flagging and dilating his limmes as weake and werish bodies doe, but contrariwise raising them upwards, yet not mainlie forced, but with a kinde of free gravitie, and seldome mooved but to good purpose, and when hee is moved, to seeme fearfull to the beholders. And for this cause was Antaeus the ancient King termed the son of the Earth in regard to the lusty and strong motions of the lims. Also Hercules the Theban, Milo the Brotonian and Lysimachus, one of Alexanders captaines that slewe a Lyon.[221]

In many ways, it is striking how the Boijmans sheet in the end seems to pictorialize in a glance Lomazzo's verbal anatomy of male strength. Like Lomazzo's anatomy, the Boijmans figure is characterized by raised, active limbs ("not flagging and dilating his limmes as weake and werish bodies doe"), an alert countenance, and a stout body moving forcibly upwards. With body bent forward like so many of Rubens's figures, including *Hercules Fighting the Nemean Lion*, the forward leaning pose of the Boijmans figure expressed not only extreme male activity and strain, but strong, positive engagement and relative grace. According to Junius, there was "small grace in a stiff, upright body." He considered bowing, or bending, the back (*supinitas*) "odious" and a sign of weakness or defeat.[222] In this context, it is hardly coincidental that figures in Rubens's painted oeuvre that bear this feature, including figures descending to hell in the Munich *Last Judgment*, sinners whose demons have been

exorcised in the *Miracles of St. Ignatius*, and sometimes his female figures, are contrasted with virile, upright nudes. Rubens's figure also exhibits a sense of figural largesse implicit in Lomazzo's description ("as to looke big"), and generally fits the prescription in Jombert's text that heroic and Herculean figures should be up to twice the size of a normal human. Measuring 520 × 390 mm, the Boijmans nude is one of the largest in Rubens's graphic oeuvre. Extending to the margins of the sheet, this highly sculptural, mobile figure appears like other robust males of the period, including his reclining nude male for *Prometheus* (Figure 4.1), as if on the verge of exploding the boundaries of its two-dimensional confinement.[223]

Ultimately, the Boijmans figure represents a graphic incarnation of Lomazzo's notion of figural vehemence, and by extension, a metaphor for a more muscular, robust approach to art that would have matched Rubens's Lipsian-inspired Neostoic concerns for vigor and health – what Croll called "the energy and labor of minds seeking the truth."[224] As in the Louvre *Crouched Man*, Rubens rendered the Boijmans nude dark in complexion, with mottled, thick hair, and wide, open nostrils, invoking Lomazzo's description of a rugged, dark, and hirsute martial man who aggressively breathes forth vapors, delighting in more serious matters like wrestling, eschewing any so-called "pleasant carpet discourses":

> a martiall body made meager with great, raised, and hard limbs, strong joynts, and mighty bones wilbe (for the most part) of a swarte complexion, mixed with adult redde, having a low forehead, great eies, in colour yeallowe like the flame of fier, with large eie-lids, wide and open nostrels, breathing forth vapours in great abundance . . . a darkish haire . . . stiffe, wreathed and curled locks . . . delighting altogether in laborious matters, as to beare armes, exercise his body in wrastling, and such like activities; being better pleased at the report of terrible and fearfull accidents, than at the hearing of smoothe and pleasant carpet-discourses . . .[225]

At one level, Rubens may have aspired to construct his figure based on Lomazzo's rough, brawny, and peculiarly male sort of physicality that pointed to a relatively unrefined, yet purposeful, constitution. To this end, he treated his figure with a rhetorically suitable, forceful, and sometimes brute graphic manner to match his subject, especially in its upper half. In keeping with Quintilian's robust orator, Rubens at times opted against formal subtlety in favor of graphic excess that was likely meant to match the workings of Quintilian's vigorous orator whose gesture and strength in voice "itself excites the orator and spurs him."[226] In these moments of artistic heat, Rubens's propensity for graphic athleticism and sheer manual force are most evident.

Yet, like the classical rhetorician taught to resist excessive roughness in order to preserve a crucial balance of delicacy and force,[227] Rubens also ultimately made important graphic concessions in the Boijmans sheet to virtuous lightness and grace, especially in the figure's lowest portions.[228] Lifted by the smooth, sure contour describing the figure's left calf, more reminiscent of graceful female contours than rough martial ones, the figure appears to rise and move more lightly than many of his other robust types, including the more melancholic, earthbound Louvre *Crouched Man*. By contrast, the Boijmans nude appears not only more active and mobile, but alert and filled with rising physical heat.[229] Rubens produced this effect largely

through his unusual graphic treatment of the right leg. Flatly and lightly rendered and receding from view, the right leg allows for the impression that the figure floats, or is able to rise with little effort, capable of supporting its own substantial weight. Producing the effect that Lomazzo called "free gravitie," the leg diminishes in an accelerating graphic swirl to a flame-like point – one might even say the *conus* of Lomazzo's inverted pyramid – which, like fire, was thought best to figure liveliness and the *furia* of the figure, and which best expressed in Lomazzo's earlier words, "the Spirite of the picture."[230] Like Rubens's spirited, swirling treatment of the legs in his so-called *Korean Man*, c. 1617 (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum; Plate 40), this glyphic feature, understood contextually, might be viewed as a graphic metaphor for the heat, rising force, and unrestrained mobility found in the most persuasive representations of male animation, and in the finest work of the most spirited and eloquent draftsman.[231]

In the end, it is not any individual constitutive graphic feature that secures Rubens's argument in the Boijmans figure, but the cumulative effect of the drawing's eclectic features when it is viewed as it was meant: as a rhetorical whole whose meaning and force could only fully be understood after acquainting oneself, as Quintilian once wrote, with all that it contained.[232] At a time when eclectic emulation and the use of meaningful stylistic discriminations in drawing carried the potential to express layers of rich, multivalent content with wisdom and eloquence, intellectually rigorous, graphically fluent examples like the Boijmans sheet point to Rubens's larger commitment to the great models of the past and a classicizing approach to design as a locus for the display and exercise of a humanist, athletic sort of artistic prowess. In the context of the artist's worries about art and society's decline, and the larger concern in Lipsian circles with strengthening the social body through serious labor and virtuous ideas located in the ancients, the Boijmans sheet finally suggests that a sustained and value-laden commitment to the eloquent union of form and content in and through drawing, as much as the construction of a new, more persuasive, two-dimensional robust construction of heroic masculinity, played a central role in Rubens's early efforts to reinvigorate art. As mirrors of a prodigious and seemingly laboring intellect searching for more potent ways of transforming ancient truths into meaningful and relevant models for a new age, and as valuable keys to a truly inimitable signature style of designing first in the mind and then by hand, such drawings hold within them the thrilling potential to recover some of Rubens's most fundamental artistic meanings precisely in the locus that Vasari rightfully called "the mother of painting." Ultimately, as Van Dyck's rather ephebic version of the *Kneeling Man* (Plate 33) attests, though, Rubens's marriage of graphic form and content underlying the true force and authorial power of his newly poetic and formative approach to mature drawing – "that extraordinary force of Art [that] sheweth it selfe most in an extraordinary argument" – was often all too soon lost in translation.

Notes

1 An earlier version of this chapter was published under the title "Content in Form: Rubens's Kneeling Man and the Graphic Reformation of the Ideal, Robust Male Nude," *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (Antwerp Royal Museum Annual), eds. Paul Huvenne and Elizabeth Honig (2000): 127–64. I am grateful to Paul Vandenbroeck for helping me to secure permission to publish this revised essay.

2 Junius, *Painting of the Ancients* (London: Richard Hodgkinsonne, 1638), 315.
3 For the connections between Junius and Rubens, see especially Thijs Weststeijn, "The Sublime and the 'Beholder's Share': Junius, Rubens, Rembrandt," *JHNA* 8, no. 2 (2016): 1–32. DOI: 10.5092/jhna.2016.8.2.2: http://www.jhna.org/index.php/vol-8–2-2016/346-thijs-weststeijn; and Philipp P. Fehl, "Access to the Ancients: Junius, Rubens and Van Dyck," in *Franciscus Junius F.F. and His Circle*, ed. Bremmer, 35–70. As Fehl clarifies, both Rubens and Van Dyck embraced many of Junius's theories, with Rubens even being "touched" by the publication of *De Pictura Veterum* so much that he wrote a Latin letter in praise of it. Ibid., 44.
4 Junius continued, "But seeing the Artificers intend nothing so much with the whole labour of their art, as to leave unto the following Ages an opinion of wit and art; it is likewise evident, that the worke requireth a round, and not interrupted continuance: all the parts of it must be connected, easily rolling on, and gently flowing or rather following one another, after the manner of them that goe hand in hand to strengthen their pace; they hold and are held. For a Workeman shall never be esteemed judicious and witty, so long as there appeare in his work some broken and abruptly dismembered passages . . . Where naked joynts are propounded, sayth Seneca, it is instantly manifest, if either the number or the order have not their due. What in other works useth to be rude, loose, and scattered, is ever in a good and perfect worke, well grounded, finely framed, and strongly trussed up together . . ." *Painting of the Ancients*, 1638, 315–16.
5 The painting was completed by 1618. On the Prometheus painting and the tradition of *ekphrasis*, especially as expressed in a poem by Dominicus Baudius, see Charles Dempsey, "Euanthes redivivus: Rubens's Prometheus Bound," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 30 (1967): 420–25; and Eric Jan Sluijter, "How Rembrandt Surpassed the Ancients, Italians and Rubens as the Master of 'the Passions of the Soul,'" *Low Countries Historical Review* (Royal Netherlands Historical Society) 129, no. 2 (2014): 74–77.
6 For the Cantoor copies, see Garff and Pedersen, *Rubens Cantoor*; and Huvenne, "On Rubens' Cantoor."
7 Ibid.
8 See Veronika Birke and Janine Kertész, *Die italienischen Zeichnungen der Albertina: Generalverzeichnis*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1992), nos. 120 and 123.
9 For Philip's early biography of Rubens and Rubens's Imitation treatise published by De Piles, see Chapter 1, in this volume.
10 The MS Johnson and its relationship to Rubens's Pocketbook is discussed by Braham, *Rubens: Paintings, Drawings, Prints in the Princes Gate Collection*, 51–53; nos. 58–59.
11 By contrast, two examples of Rubens works that were obviously derived from a single antique model include *Hercules Victorious over Discord* (London, British Museum) and his *Two Studies of a Boy after the Spinario*, c. 1601–02 (London, British Museum).
12 For example, Rubens's *Nude Man Seen Partly from Behind*, c. 1616–17 (Rotterdam Museum, Boijmans Van Beuningen; inv. V 26 PK), was recently described in the museum's online catalogue as drawn "directly from life": http://collectie.boijmans.nl/en/object/106815 (accessed July 13, 2016).
13 See, for example, Junius, *Painting of the Ancients*, III.iii.13; in Aldrich and Fehl, *Literature of Classical Art*.
14 Van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding*, 294; and Goeree, *Inleydinge*, 72–73.
15 For example, Karel van Mander urged northern landscape artists to make independent, *naer het leven* drawings based on the close transference of visual observations to paper. Van Mander devoted an entire chapter of his *Schilderboek* to landscape and its forms, citing the imitation of nature as its primary domain. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon*, 146, 181. Rubens's interest in *ad vivum* drawing was noted by Christopher Brown, for one. According to Brown, Rubens executed landscape motifs in the second decade *ad hoc*, "in the open air" when "struck by certain details in nature as he walked or rode through the countryside – a tree or group of trees, a pathway, a wattle fence – of which he made a quick sketch." Christopher Brown, *Rubens's Landscapes: Making & Meaning* (London: National Gallery Publications, 1996), 86, 89.

16 520 × 390 mm, with no evidence of having been cut down. Literature: Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1959, no. 75, p. 88; Burchard and d'Hulst, *Rubens Drawings*, no. 92, pl. 92; Y. Kuznetsov, *Risunki Rubensa* (Moscow, 1974), pl. 69; Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, no. 54, pl. 55; Lusheck, "Rubens's Graphic Eclecticism," 66–126; Lusheck, "Content in Form"; Logan, *The Drawings*, no. 35; and A.W.F.M. Meij and Maartje de Haan, *Rubens, Jordaens, Van Dyck and their Circle: Flemish Master Drawings from the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum*, exh. cat. (Rotterdam: Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, NAi Publishers, 2001), no. 11.

17 Cited in Rubens/Jombert, *Théorie*, introduction. It bears noting this is one of the few times that Jombert chose to leave Rubens's description in Latin. According to Van der Meulen, "[Rubens's] MS Johnson, fol. lr and MS de Ganay, fol. 4r state that Hercules' strong body consists of sturdy cubes: '*Ex cubo, sive figura ab omni latera quadrata, fit omne masculum, aut virile et quicquid grave, forte, Robustum, compactum et Athleticum est* . . .')." Van der Meulen, *Copies after the Antique*, vol. 2, 72, under n. 12. The corresponding Quintilian reference may be found in *Inst. Orat.* I.10 ("Ex cubo, sive figura ab omni latere quadrata, fit omne masculum aut virile, et quicquid grave, forte, robustum, compactum, et athleticum est . . .").

18 For Rubens's hyperbolic approach toward the representation of power, see Régis Michel, ed., *Le Beau idéal, ou L'art du concept*, exh. cat. (Paris: Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, 1989), 50. For Rubens's sustained concern for the concepts of solidity and virility, fed by antique examples: Muller, "Theory and Practice of Imitation," 236–37.

19 Junius, *Painting of the Ancients*, 1638, 315.

20 On Michelangelo's (and Bolognese) influence, see Arlette Sérullaz, *Rubens, ses maîtres, ses élèves: dessins du Musée du Louvre*, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, 1978), under no. 16.

21 MS.1978.PG.1.

22 Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, 90–91, no. 54. Examples of this later group include Rubens's *Study for the Figure of Christ on the Cross*, c. 1614–15 (London, British Museum, inv. Oo.9–26), and *Study of a Kneeling Man* (St. Francis), c. 1618–19 (Paris, Collection Frits Lugt).

23 The Adoration was one of the most popular subjects for Counter-Reformation altarpieces; Thomas L. Glen, *Rubens and the Counter Reformation: Studies in His Religious Paintings between 1609 and 1620* (New York: Garland Press, 1977), 123. Other extant versions of the *Adoration of the Magi* and *Adoration of the Shepherds* include versions in the Louvre and the Wallace Collection; they likely number between 10 and 15. For illustrations of these works, see Michael Jaffé and Germano Mulazzani, *Rubens: Catalogo completo* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1989); and Hans Devisscher, *Peter Paul Rubens: Aanbidding der Koningen* (Bloemendaal: H.J.W. Becht, 1992).

24 For relevant bibliography on the Louvre drawing (Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 20218), see Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, 90, no. 54. For *Abraham and Melchizedek* (Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts; inv. 172), see Sutton, *Age of Rubens*, 271–74, fig. 3.

25 The Antwerp painting was presented by the town magistrates to the Spanish Ambassador, Don Roderigo Calderón, Conde d'Olíva, in 1612, and was purchased after Olíva's execution by Philip IV. Sutton and Wieseman, *Drawn by the Brush*, 109. For the Madrid *Adoration of the Magi* and the related Groningen sketch, see Christopher Norris, "Rubens' *Adoration of the Kings* of 1609," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 14 (1963): 129–36; Held, *Oil Sketches*, vol. 1, no. 325, 450–53; and vol. 2, pl. 322; and Alexander Vergara, *Rubens and His Spanish Patrons* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 80–93.

26 Bibliography on Van Dyck's *Kneeling Man, Seen from the Back* (Rotterdam, Boijmans-van Beuningen Museum, 463 × 270 mm; black chalk with red chalk added by later hand; inv. MB 341 [PK]) includes Vey, *Die Zeichnungen*, no. 75; McNairn, *The Young Van Dyck*, 85–86, no. 31; Brown, *Drawings of Van Dyck*, 29, fig. 9; and Meij and de Haan, *Rubens, Jordaens, Van Dyck*, no. 56, p. 209 (listed as almost certainly drawn after life in the studio). Van Dyck's version is dated largely in connection with other male nude studies he executed dating from the second half of the second decade.

27 The 2001 Boijmans catalogue lists both the Van Dyck and Rubens Kneeling Man as sketches after life. However, it also observes that Van Dyck surely studied the Rubens sheet while working in his master's studio. This observation points in my view though to Van Dyck's emulative, not life drawing, concerns. Ibid., 210.

28 According to Glück and Haberditzl, Rubens may have consulted a live figure late in the execution of some of his figural designs to lend them a more naturalistic effect. Introduction to *Die Handzeichnungen des Peter Paul Rubens* (Berlin: J. Bard, 1928), 14. The position stated here represents a change from my earlier stance that there was likely no involvement whatsoever with a live model. Lusheck, "Rubens's Graphic Eclecticism"; and Lusheck, "Content in Form."

29 Hans Vlieghe, "Rubens' beginnende invloed: Arnout Vinckenborch en het probleem van Jordaens' vroegste tekeningen," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 38 (1987): 393–94, figs. 11–13; and Vlieghe, "Rubens' Atelier," 160.

30 Balis, "Rubens and his Studio," 35.

31 Brown, *Drawings of Van Dyck*, 74–76, no. 10; and Vey, *Die Zeichnungen*, 16.

32 Artists were drawing after the live model in Dutch workshops at least by the end of the 1640s, though artists like Goltzius were probably doing so decades earlier. Van Mander wrote that Goltzius and Cornelis van Haarlem "started among the three of them an Academy in order to study from life." Van Mander, *Grondt*, ed. Miedema, vol. 2, 1973, 303. For drawing in the Dutch studio, see Schatborn, *Dutch Figure Drawings*, 12, 14, 19–23; and de Klerk, "Academy-Beelden," 283–87.

33 Van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding*, 1678, 31; Schatborn, *Dutch Figure Drawings*, 23. Ames-Lewis addresses the practice of life drawing in Italian studios; *Drawing in Early Renaissance Italy*, 1981, 94–98.

34 Norgate, MS Haarlem 6000, fol. V12 (London, British Museum); as translated in Edward Norgate, *Miniatura or the Art of Limning* (c. 1628/1650), eds. and trans. Jeffrey M. Muller and Jim Murrell (New Haven: Paul Mellon Centre for British Art, Yale University, 1997), 108.

35 See, for example, The Wallace Collection's *The Male Nude: Eighteenth-Century Drawings from the Paris Academy*, exh. cat. (London: Paul Hoberton Publisher, 2013).

36 David Jaffé, review of "Rubens dall'Italia all'Europa," *Burlington Magazine* 135, no. 1082 (May 1993): 356.

37 Vander Auwera, *Genius at Work*, 201–02; cat no. 67.

38 In light of Norgate's securely documented visit to Rubens's Antwerp studio late in the painter's career, this discussion in all likelihood actually occurred. In a letter from Rubens to Gerbier, March 15, 1640, Rubens mentions the visit. Rooses and Ruelens, *CDR*, vol. 4, 257–58.

39 As recounted in Michel, *Rubens*, vol. 2, 271.

40 For Rubens's worry about the "slavish imitation of *academies*," see Jaffé, review of "Rubens dall'Italia," 356.

41 For a late example of Rubens's continued commitment to classical sculpture, see Emile Michel's recounting of the artist's interest (when already blinded by gout) in certain casts and models the sculptor François du Quesnoy sent to him as a gift from Rome, and in du Quesnoy's classically inspired sculptures that brought, in Rubens's eyes, glory to Flanders. According to Michel, "On another occasion, [Rubens's] memories of Italy were awakened by a gift from the Flemish sculptor, François du Quesnoy, who sent him from Rome several plaster models, and casts of two children's figures he had executed for the tomb of Van Huffel in the *Chiesa dell' Anima*. Rubens was greatly touched by the Fiammingo's delicate attention, and thanked him effusively. He apologized 'for not knowing better how to praise the beauty of his sculptures, which seemed to him a work of nature rather than of art, as if life itself had touched the marble. Praises of your statue of St. Andrew, lately unveiled, have reached me, and I rejoice on my own part and on that generally of all our compatriots at the glory it reflects on our country. Were I not prevented by my age and the gout which render me absolutely useless, I should hasten to you to see and admire the perfection of so remarkable a work. I hope at least to see you here among us, and that Flanders, our beloved country, may, one day, be adorned

with the glory of your works. I hope, too, that day may come before my eyes, so desirous of contemplating your marvels, are closed for ever . . .'" Michel, *Rubens*, vol. 2, 271–72.

42 MS Haarlem 6000, fol. V12; in Norgate, *Miniatura*, eds. and trans. Muller and Murrell. Norgate's original treatise, first written in 1627–28 in dedication to Thomas Howard, the second Earl of Arundel, is no longer extant. His text is known largely through the MS Tanner 326 (Oxford, Bodleian Library) and the MS Haarl. 6000. The text was substantially revised in the second edition of 1648.

43 On this latter point, see Lisa Rosenthal, "Manhood and Statehood: Rubens's Construction of Heroic Virtue." *Oxford Art Journal* 16, no. 1 (1993): 92–111.

44 According to Karolien De Clippel, Rubens sometimes drew *ad vivum* after the female nude as part of a more complex "hybrid" approach to figural drawing. De Clippel made this point in a brief conversation with the author following her talk, "The Problem of the Female Life Drawing in the Rubens Workshop" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, New York, NY, March 27, 2014). On the female nude in Rubens's work and beyond in the Low Countries, see also De Clippel, "Defining Beauty: Rubens's Female Nudes," in *Body and Embodiment in Netherlandish Art*, eds. A.-S. Lehmann and H. Roodenburg, *Nederlands Kuntshistorisch Jaarboek/ Netherlands Yearbook of History Art* 58 (2008): 111–36; and De Clippel, Katharina Van Cauteren, and Katlijne Van der Stighelen, eds., *The Nude and the Norm in the Early Modern Low Countries*, Museums at the Crossroads series (Turhout: Brepols, 2011).

45 In Raphael's words: "I have made drawings of various types based on Your Lordship's indications, and unless everybody is flattering me, I have satisfied everybody; but I do not satisfy my own judgment, because I am afraid of not satisfying yours . . . As for the Galatea, I should consider myself a great master if it had half the merits you mention in your letter. However, I perceive in your words the love you bear me; and I add that in order to paint a fair one, I should need to see several fair ones, with the proviso that Your Lordship will be with me to select the best. But as there is a shortage of both good judges and of beautiful women, I am making use of some sort of idea which comes into my mind. Whether this idea has any artistic excellence in itself, I do not know. But I do strive to attain it." Raphael to Baldassare Castiglione, 1514, translated in *Artists on Art*, eds. and trans. Robert Goldwater and Marco Treves (New York: Random House, 1945); and reprinted in *Italian Art 1500–1600: Sources and Models*, eds. Robert Klein and Henry Zerner (Englewood, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1966), 32–33.

46 Raphael is known to have drawn members of the papal court and Leonardo studied human anatomy by occasionally dissecting cadavers or parts of cadavers.

47 On Raphael's use of early artistic models, see Michael Kwakkelstein, "The Model's Pose: Raphael's Use of Antique and Early Art," *Artibus et Historiae* 23, no. 6 (2002): 37–60.

48 Glück and Haberditzl, *Handzeichnungen*, 14.

49 Reynolds's writing owes a great debt to Junius's *De Pictura Veterum*. Joshua Reynolds, *Seven Discourses* (1778; Menston, Yorkshire: Scholar Press, 1971), 19. For the relationship to Junius's text, see Richard Woodfield, introduction to Reynolds's *Discourses*, vii.

50 De Piles, *Cours de peinture*, ed. Thuillier, 114–16.

51 Ibid.

52 Rubens used the language of obedience when speaking about the practice of copying in a letter to Peiresc, 4 September 1636; Magurn, *Letters*, no. 238.

53 For Jaffé's translation, see *Antwerp Sketchbook*, vol. 1, 100, n. 66. See also Domenico Laurenza, *Art & Anatomy in Renaissance Italy: Images from a Scientific Revolution* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012), 47, under n. 53. For the MS Johnson sheet, refer to Braham, *Princes Gate Collection*, no. 58.

54 I am grateful to Patricia Reilly for this point, based on her reading of the published transcription of Rubens's inscription grounded in John Florio's dictionary, *A Worlde of Words, or most copious, and exact Dictionarie Italian and English Collected by John Florio* (London: Arnold Hatfield, 1598).

55 Jeffrey M. Muller, "Rubens' Anatomy Book," in *Rubens Cantoor*, ed. Nieuwdorp, 88, and under n. 43.

56 Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting and On Sculpture: The Latin Texts on De Pictura and De Statua*, ed. and trans. Cecil Grayson (London, Penguin, 1975), 72–75.

57 Inv. 24.197.2.
58 Alberti/Grayson, *On Painting*, 74–75; and Muller, "Rubens' Anatomy Book," 81.
59 For Alberti's analogy of bodies to architecture and to their related moral characteristics shown in their "clothing" and adornments, see Liane Lefaivre, *Leon Battista Alberti's* Hypnertomachia Poliphili*: Re-Cognizing the Architectural Body in the Early Italian Renaissance* (Boston: MIT Press, 2005), 207–08. For Alberti's "metaphor of the building as a dangerous body, clad in equally dangerous 'clothes'": ibid., 208. For Alberti, architectural nakedness was seen as avoiding (immoral) voluptuousness, with buildings being discussed in bodily terms (with a "neck," "belly," and "navel"); ibid, 234–35.
60 See for example, Leonardo's study of the dead "centenarian" in his Anatomical MS A (London, Windsor Collection) discussed and illustrated in Clayton and Philo, *Leonardo da Vinci: The Mechanics of Man*, fol. 6r.
61 Panneels included references to Rubens's "anatomy book" on selected copies after his designs, and noted in one drawing in Copenhagen (Statens Museum for Kunst) that the book had been accessed from Rubens's *cantoor*: "dese twee handen heb ick geteekent wt den annotomibock/van rubbens die ick oock vant cantoor van rubbens hebbe gehaelt." Muller, "Rubens' Anatomy Book," 78 and 95; and cat no. 1. De Piles particularly noted Rubens's knowledge of Leonardo's anatomy studies, and as well as his studies of horses, his proportions studies, and his physiognomy drawings. De Piles, *Abrégé*, 1699, 168. De Piles wrote: "Rubens enlarges on Leonardo's skill in Anatomy. He adds a particular relation of his studies, and of all the designs which he made, which Rubens had seen among the curiosities of Pompeio Leoni, at Arezzo, who had all his designs." As cited and translated in William Hunter, *Two Introductory Lectures: Delivered by Dr. William Hunter, to His Last Course of Anatomical Lectures* . . . (London: Order of the Trustees, for J. Johnson, 1784), 39. See also Claire Farago, ed., *Biography and Early Art Criticism of Leonardo da Vinci* (New York/London: Garland, 1999), 125; and Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, 30. For Leoni's collection and the dating of Rubens's visit to his collection to 1603–04 in Madrid, see Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio, "The Chief and Perhaps Only Antiquarian in Spain: Pompeo Leoni and his Collection in Madrid," *Journal of the History of Collections* 18, no. 2 (2006): 137–67, esp. 137 and under n. 1. On Leonardo's anatomical approach, see Martin Clayton, "Leonardo in 1510: The Anatomical MS A," in Martin Clayton and Ronald Philo, *Leonardo da Vinci: The Mechanics of Man* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010), 8–30.
62 Muller, "Rubens' Anatomy Book," 84–86. Muller added that there is no convincing evidence to suggest Rubens studied cadavers.
63 De Piles, *Abrégé*, 168.
64 For the Albertina drawings and possible Rubens provenance, see Logan, *The Drawings*, 69, and under ns. 3–4; and Birke and Kertész, *Die italienischen Zeichnungen der Albertina*, nos. 120 and 123. At least 14 Michelangelo sheets appeared in the 1686 inventory of the Antwerp art dealer and canon Johannes Philippus Happaert. This is significant because Happaert purchased the lion's share of Rubens's drawings when they were sold in 1657, signaling Rubens's likely ownership of autograph Michelangelo drawings. Logan, *The Drawings*, 68–69 and under n. 2; and Jeremy Wood, "Rubens's Collection of Drawings: His Attributions and Inscriptions," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch* 55 (1994): 347, n. 6.
65 Inv. 20.227. Rubens's copy after Michelangelo's *Libyan Sibyl* is illustrated and discussed by Logan, *The Drawings*, 69–70, no. 4.
66 Mary Braun-Anderson, "Artists' Professional Handbooks from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Children of Mercury: The Education of Artists in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Jeffrey M. Muller (Providence, RI: Bell Gallery, List Art Center, Brown University, 1984), 124.
67 Two copies of Dürer's text are listed in Rubens's son Albert's library inventory. Ibid., 121. On the Latin and German editions of Dürer in Albert's inventory (*Catalogus A. Rubens*), see Van der Meulen, *Copies after the Antique*, 72, under n. 13.
68 For Dürer's and Lomazzo's influence, particularly related to proportions, see Müller Hofstede, "*Ut Pictura Poesis*," 171–73; Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, vol. 1, 18, 20, and 302; Müller Hofstede, *Rubens in Italien*, under no. 25; Mielke and Winner, *Kritischer Katalog der Zeichnungen*, 29–36, and fig. 5r; and Van der Meulen, *Copies after the*

Antique, 72. For Rubens's six-line Latin notation referencing four figural types on the verso of the Berlin sheet (inv. 3240), see Held, *Selected Drawings*, 1986, under no. 7, 66–67.

69 On Rubens's use of Franco's designs, consult Muller, "Rubens' Anatomy Book," 79 and fig. 15. On his knowledge of Pacioli's text and Leonardo's designs, see Braham, *Princes Gate Collection*, 53; and Braun-Anderson, "Artists' Professional Handbooks," 125.

70 Rubens/Jombert, *Théorie*, 10–11, and pls. I, IV, and V.

71 De Piles, *Conversations* (1677), 1970, 253.

72 De Piles, "Le Cabinet de Monseigneur le Duc de Richelieu," in *Dissertation sur les Ouvrages des plus fameux Peintres* (1681; Farnsborough, Eng: Gregg International Publishers, 1968), 84.

73 Ibid.

74 I thank Suzanne Walker for furthering my thinking on the metaphorical implications of this passage. For more on Michelangelo's "sculptural" influence on Rubens, see Stephen Cody, "Rubens and the 'Smell of Stone': The Translation of the Antique and the Emulation of Michelangelo," *Orion* 20, no. 3 (2013): 39–56.

75 For example, Peter Schatborn pointed to Adriaen van de Velde's drawing of a male nude as "elaborate . . . with evenly defined forms." *Dutch Figure Drawings*, 118–19.

76 Max Rooses called Rubens's robust male with the curly hair in the right foreground in the *Raising of the Cross*, "excessive." *Rubens*, 127–35. See also Martin, *The Antwerp Altarpieces*, 96–98.

77 For the Dutch approach to the artist's ideal proximity to his model, see Van Mander/Miedema, *Grondt*, vol. 2, 17; and Van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding*, 34. Crispijn van de Passe's *Drawing after a Live Model* (Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinett) suggests the same figure was often drawn from a variety of positions in a circle from different angles. Goeree even admonished pupils not to look at their neighbor's drawing, lest they distort the angle and proportions of the figure. Schatborn, *Dutch Figure Drawings*, 21.

78 For the proportional, well-formed body as a microcosm of divine perfection and a disordered body as implicating sickness or dissoluteness in early modern circles, see Mirella G. Pardee, "Beholding and Touching; Early Modern Strategies of Negotiating Illness," in *Beholding Violence in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Allie Terry-Fritsch and Erin Felicia Labbie (Farnham, UK/Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2012), 61–84; esp. 67–68; and Suzanne E. Hatty and James Hatty, *The Disordered Body: Epidemic Disease and Cultural Transformations* (Albany, NY: State University of NY Press, 1999).

79 Warnke, *Rubens*, 58. For Rubens's attachment to copied Greek sculptural models, see also Van der Meulen, *Copies after the Antique*, vol. 1, esp. 69–95. Hans Vligehe noted Rubens's "classicist and strongly sculptural style" around 1612–20. Vlieghe, "Rubens Atelier," 160.

80 Cited by Frans Baudouin, *Pietro Paolo Rubens*, trans. Elsie Callander (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1977), 68; based on A. Monballieu's account in "P.P. Rubens en het Nachtmael," 195–96, doc. 2.

81 Jeffrey M. Muller, "Private Collections in the Spanish Netherlands: Ownership and Display of Paintings in Domestic Interiors," in *Age of Rubens*, ed. Sutton, 202.

82 Held, *Oil Sketches*, vol. 1, 451–52.

83 Rubens called these paintings "the flower of my stock." Rubens to Dudley Carleton, Antwerp, 28 April 1618; Magurn, *Letters*, no. 28.

84 See, for example, Rubens to Carleton, Antwerp, 1 June 1618; ibid., no. 34.

85 Rubens to Carleton, Antwerp, 28 April 1618; ibid., no. 28.

86 For the "Rubens School Engravings," see Frank van den Wijngaert, *Inventaris der Rubeniaansche Prentkunst* (Antwerp: de Sikkel, 1940). These works included the Marseilles and Malines *Adorations* (W. 711, W. 713), the *Raising of the Cross* (W. 760), the *Descent from the Cross* (W. 718), the *Miracles of St. Ignatius Loyola* (W. 300), and others.

87 For Rubens's request for help in securing privileges, see Rubens to Pieter van Veen, Antwerp, 23 January 1619, Magurn, *Letters*, no. 36, and pp. 443–44. For his thanks to Dudley Carleton, see ibid., 444, under n. 38.

88 Sanderson, *Graphice*, 24–25.

89 Ibid., 74–75.
90 The highly politicized nature of Rubens's paintings in these years, including their orientation toward external response, is highlighted in Warnke, *Rubens*, 58–59.
91 Braham, *Princes Gate Collection*, 53.
92 The notion of Rubens's "compromised" bodies was very helpfully offered by Suzanne Walker, in conversation with the author.
93 For an excellent description of Rubens's rhetorical use of these figures in painting from this period, see Eugène Fromentin, *Rubens et Rembrandt: Les Maîtres d'autrefois* (1875; Paris: Éditions Complexe, 1991), 42–49.
94 The figures were added later to the composition, and were not present in the earlier oil sketch. Norris, "Adoration of the Kings," 129–36; and Baudouin, "Altars and Altarpieces," 50–51.
95 The late Julius Held offered a commercial explanation of why the painting might have been hung in the Antwerp town hall. *Oil Sketches*, vol. 1, 453.
96 Fromentin, *Les Maîtres d'autrefois*, 48.
97 Ill., Baudouin, "Altars and Altarpieces," 73–75, fig. 35; and Martin, *Antwerp Altarpieces*, 39, figs. 2–3.
98 On the question of intended legibility, see Glen, *Rubens and the Counter Reformation*, 29–30.
99 Sutton, *Age of Rubens*, 25.
100 Dominicus Baudius, *Poematum nova editio* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1616), 578; trans. in Sutton, *Age of Rubens*, 238.
101 Ibid.
102 De Piles, "Le Cabinet de Monseigneur le Duc de Richelieu," 84.
103 J.C. Weyermann, *De levensbeschryvingen der Nederlandsche Konst-schilders en Konst-schilderessen*, vol. 1 (The Hague, 1729); as translated in Martin, *Antwerp Altarpieces*, 63.
104 Ibid.
105 J.B. Descamps, *Voyage pittoresque de la Flandre et du Brabant* (Paris, 1769), 145–46; 157–58; as translated in Martin, *Antwerp Altarpieces*, 64–65.
106 Ibid.
107 Joshua Reynolds, *A Journey to Flanders and Holland* (1781), in *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, ed. Edmond Malone, vol. 2 (London: Cadell & Davies, 1797), 22–26; 32–35; and Martin, *Antwerp Altarpieces*, 71–73.
108 Ibid., 73, 75. This version of St. Christopher has been called a "Christian Hercules." Nora de Poorter et al., *Rubens en zijn Tijd/Rubens and His Age*, exh. cat. (Rotterdam: Boijmans-van Beuningen Museum, 1990), 76.
109 Eugène Delacroix, *Journal de Eugène Delacroix*, ed. A. Joubin (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1932), 408–09.
110 Théophile Silvestre, "Pierre-Paul Rubens," in Charles Blanc, *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles, Ecole flamande* (Paris, 1868); as quoted in Martin, *Antwerp Altarpieces*, 79.
111 Ibid., 79–80. Rooses argued that Rubens's *Raising* exemplified the marriage of art and rhetoric, calling it "the supreme hymn of vigorous action." Rooses, *Rubens*, 127–35; 162–71.
112 Paul Joannides, "Michelangelo *bronzista*: Reflections on his Mettle," *Apollo* 5, no. 145 (1997): 15.
113 Rubens, *De Imitatione Statuarum*, in De Piles, *Cours de peinture*, 82.
114 Rubens may have also looked to Ludovico Dolce who argued for judicious use of models, so that only the good parts were expressed, in Dolce, *Dialogo della pittura intitolato l'Aretino* (Venice, 1557). Armenini/Olszewski, *True Precepts of the Art of Painting*, 75, under n. 6.
115 Van der Meulen, *Petrus Paulus Rubens Antiquarius*, 8–9.
116 Rubens usually used Roman art for individual physiognomies and costumes, and Greek sculpture for bodies. Ibid.
117 Ibid., 82–85; esp. 84. On Rubens's invocation of Mercurialis's *De arte gymnastica libri sex* . . ., first published in Venice, 1573 and printed again in 1601, see Muller, "Theory and Practice of Imitation," 232. Mercurialis was a correspondent of Lipsius.

118 Van der Meulen, *Petrus Paulus Rubens Antiquarius*, 84.
119 Lipsius would often write to Mercurialis later about his love of Italy and his dismay that his own poor health kept him from going back to the city he loved. Papy, "Lipsius' Attitude Toward Italy and Italian Humanism," 267.
120 Rubens to Johann Faber, Antwerp, 14 January 1611; in Magurn, *Letters*, no. 21.
121 Rubens to Jacques Dupuy, 15 October 1626; ibid., no. 91.
122 *Painting of the Ancients*, II.x.1 and II.xi.10, in Aldrich and Fehl, *Literature of Classical Art*, vol. 1, 167–68 and 182–83.
123 For the early modern humoral basis of sexual difference, see Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 25–62; and Stephen Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity: Sexual Jealousy in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 14, 151. The Rubens point is illustrated, for example, by drawings after Hercules *mingens* in Copenhagen; ill. in Müller Hofstede, *Peter Paul Rubens 1577–1640: Rubens in Italien*, 233, figs. K44c–e.
124 Rubens, *De Imitatione Statuarum* in De Piles, *Cours de peinture*, 84–85.
125 For Leonardo's concern with microcosms, or parts (*elementi*) of the whole, or macrocosm, see Martin Kemp, "Science and the Poetic Impulse," *Journal of the Royal Society of the Arts* 133 (February 1985): 196–213.
126 Rubens/Jombert, *Théorie*, ed. Nadeije Laneyrie-Dagen (Ulm: Editions Rue d'Ulm, 2003), 24. See also Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, vol. 1, pl. XCVII and Appendix B, 301–02; and vol. 2, pl. 40v.
127 Rubens/Jombert, *Théorie*, 24 and pl. XXII.
128 Inv. 100, 101.
129 See also Van Dyck's drawings of Hercules and Antaeus wrestling copied from the Pocketbook; Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, vol. 2, fol. 41 recto and verso.
130 Rubens, *De Imitatione Statuarum* in De Piles, *Cours de peinture*, 84–85.
131 Aveline's engravings demonstrate Leonardo's idea that flexion is greater in muscles pulling rather than pushing and that the back arches and expands when pulling, see Rubens/Jombert, *Théorie*, pl. XIX.
132 Lomazzo placed Michelangelo's exemplary *relievi mirabili*, dependent upon principles of concavity and convexity (that is, solidity and emptiness), as a part of perspective. Lomazzo, *Idea del Tempio* (Milan, 1590), 76. For a discussion of relief and salience as a function of concavity, the circle as *cavato* of human body: ibid., 76, 134–40.
133 De Piles, *Remarques sur l'Art de Peinture de Charles Alfonse du Fresnoy*, I.iiij.286, in *L'Art de Peinture de C.A. du Fresnoy . . .* (Paris, 1673; reprint, Geneva: Minkoff Reprint, 1973), 199. De Piles also included Du Fresnoy's 1668 Latin *De Arte Graphica* in this edition.
134 Leonardo da Vinci, *The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci*, ed. John Paul Richter, vol. 1 (1883; New York: Dover, 1970), 245, no. 488; and Muller, "Rubens' Anatomy Book," 81.
135 Rubens/Jombert, *Théorie*, 2003, 2.
136 "Ex cubo, sive figura ab omni latere quadrata, fit omni masculum aut virile, & quidquid grave, forte, robustum, compactum, & athleticum est: & quidquid formae quadrati detraxeris, amplitudini quoque peribit." Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* I.X; as quoted by Rubens/Jombert, *Théorie*, 2 and under n. 1.
137 For Rubens's knowledge of Quintilian during his Roman period, see Muller, "Theory and Practice of Imitation," 231.
138 For Quintilian's genus, *robustum*, see *Inst. Orat.*, XII.10.22–24, 36, 42–52; 59–65; and 69–72. For his use of the term *rubur* (*robur*), see Ibid., VI.22–24 and VIII.6. Elsewhere, I argued that Leonardo's use of red chalk in both his *Battle of Anghiari* nudes and his lively Windsor Brambles (*rubus*) drawing also related to the classical term *rubur* and Quintilian's arguments for robust oratory. Lusheck, "Perfecting Nature: Empiricism, Geometry and the Rhetoric of Liveliness in Leonardo's Studies of Brambles, c. 1505–10," paper prepared for "Leonardo da Vinci: Between Art and Science," ed. Francesca Fiorani and Anna Kim, NEH Summer Institute, Florence, Italy, 2012 (March 2014): http://faculty.virginia.edu/Fiorani/NEH-Institute/essays/lusheck.
139 Junius, *Painting of the Ancients*, III.iii.13, citing Quint. *Inst. Orat.*, XII.10.75–76; in Aldrich and Fehl, *Literature of Classical Art*, vol. 1, 255.

140 For more on the importance of exercise to Stoic philosophy, and the relationship of early modern medicine to the body politic, see John Sellars, *The Art of Living: The Stoics on the Nature and Function of Philosophy* (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 2009), esp. 37–46, 59–60, 64–74, 107–28.

141 Frank Fehrenbach made this point in a lecture on Leonardo and the concept of liveliness delivered for the NEH Summer Institute, "Leonardo da Vinci: Between Art & Science," Director, Francesca Fiorani, in Florence, Italy, July 2012.

142 Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity*, 151–53.

143 Ibid.

144 For more on the symbolic value of hair in the period, see Evelyn Welch, "Art on the Edge: Hair and Hands in Renaissance Italy," *Renaissance Studies* 23, no. 3 (2008): 241–68, esp. 256.

145 For his 1627 discussion of the (feminized) shame involved in his "sterility of invention." Magurn, *Letters*, no. 114.

146 Rubens/Jombert, *Théorie*, 9–10.

147 It is important to remember, however, that the term *viriles* was often used for female figures as well, as in Albrecht Dürer's study on human proportions and Giambattista della Porta's *Della Physiognomonia* (both studied by Rubens in this period), reflecting the early modern understanding that women and men were physiologically very similar.

148 For the studies after Leonardo, see Rubens/Jombert, *Théorie*, pl. XVI.

149 Ibid., 3–5.

150 Ibid., pls I–V. Rubens calls this figure *surnaturelle* and compares it to the character of the lion, bull, or horse.

151 Ibid., pls. I–IV.

152 Ibid., 13, and pl. XIV. For the association of Hercules with bodily strength, see Ovid, *Met.* 9:29–30. In the Senecan tradition, Hercules is often characterized as not only a tragic figure of brute strength, but also one of moral rectitude.

153 Rubens/Jombert, *Théorie*, 3, pls. VI–VII. For more on the Commodus as Hercules sculpture in the Vatican, see M.P. Speidel, "Commodus the God-Emperor and the Army," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 83 (1993): 109–14.

154 Rubens/Jombert, *Théorie*, 3.

155 Translation by John Newman in Braham, *Princes Gate Collection*, 53. Rubens used a Greek term, as well as a Latin one, thus accounting for the two spellings in the translation. For more on the relationship of the sheet to Rubens's Pocketbook and *De figuris humanis*, see ibid., 52–53, under no. 59. The sheet was first mentioned in the literature by Horace Walpole in *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, vol. 2 (London, 1762), 86ff; and subsequently included in P.J. Mariette's *Abecedario*, eds. Chennevières and Montaiglon, vol. 5, 68. See also Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, vol. 1, 17ff, and ns. 8, 11; and Muller, "Theory and Practice of Imitation," 236.

156 Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Tracte containing the artes of curious Paintinge, Carvinge, and Buildinge* [Trattato dell'arte della pittura, Milan, 1538], trans. Richard Haydocke (Oxford, 1598; reprint, London: Gregg, 1970), 33–34. On Lomazzo's treatise, and its possible impact on the arrangement of Junius's *De pictura veterum*, see Aldrich and Fehl, introduction to *The Literature of Classical Art*, vol. 1, lvi–lvii, under n. 78; Gerald M. Ackerman, "Lomazzo's Treatise of Painting," *Art Bulletin* 49 (1967): 317–26; and F. Hard, "Richard Haydocke and Alexander Browne: Two Half-Forgotten Writers on the Art of Painting," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 55 (1940): 727–41. Rubens selected many of the same classical statues for his models as did Lomazzo and G.B. Armenini in his *De' veri precetti della Pittura* (Ravenna, 1587).

157 Jombert encapsulated Rubens's reductive approach: "We can reduce the elements or principles of the human figure to the cube, circle or triangle." Rubens/Jombert, *Théorie*, 1.

158 MS Johnson, fol. 6v and MS de Ganay, fol. 8r. See Gian Paolo Lomazzo, *Scritti sulle Arti*, ed. Roberto Paolo Ciardi, vol. 1 (Firenze: Marchi & Bertolli, 1973), 54–55; cited in Van der Meulen, *Copies after the Antique*, vol. 1, 72 and under n. 15.

159 Rubens/Jombert, *Théorie*, 1, 6, 52–53.

160 Ibid.

161 I first discussed the relevance of this sheet, as well as related copies in Van Dyck's *Antwerp Sketchbook*, to Rubens's robust male in Lusheck, "Rubens's Graphic Eclecticism," 99–100; and fig. 1.30. Karolien De Clippel has also drawn attention to MS Johnson, fol. 75r in "Defining Beauty: Rubens's Female Nudes," 118, fig. 5.
162 Ill., Lusheck, "Rubens's Graphic Eclecticism," 364, fig. 1.44.
163 Caroline Walker Bynum, "'. . . And Women His Humanity': Female Imagery in the Religious Writing of the Later Middle Ages," in *Gender and Religion: On the Complexity of Symbols*, eds. Caroline Walker Bynum, Stevan Harrell, and Paula Richman (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 268.
164 In describing a drawing of Isis he once received, Rubens criticized the figure of the heifer on the basis that the "form, proportion, gesture and pose differ remarkably from the natural properties of this animal," thereby deeming it crude and without plausible interpretation. Rubens to François Swert from Antwerp, February–March 1618; Magurn, *Letters*, no. 26. Rubens made direct correspondences between the strong man and bull in *La Théorie* – ideas he likely derived in part from his study of Giambattista della Porta's illustrated *De Humana Physiognomonia* (1586).
165 See Chapter 2, in this volume.
166 Junius, *Painting of the Ancients*, III.ix. According to Aldrich and Fehl, Junius wrote this chapter around the description of Theodoric II, king of the Goths (CE 453–66), which appears in a letter by Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistolae* I.2.2–3. See Aldrich and Fehl, *Literature of Classical Art*, vol. 1, 348–49, Appendix III.
167 Pierre Force, "Innovation as Spiritual Exercise," 17–35, esp. 32 and under n. 50.
168 Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, III.iv.4; in Aldrich and Fehl, *Literature of Classical Art*, vol. 1, 264.
169 *The Painting of the Ancients*, III.iv.1–7; ibid., 257–71.
170 *The Painting of the Ancients*, III.9; ibid., 348–53; esp. 349.
171 Ibid., 349.
172 Inspired by Lucian's *Historia quomodo transcribenda*, Junius wrote: "Even so it is for the most part better to decke his worke in a rug gowne (*hirta toga*) than to adorne it with strumpet-like ornaments." *Painting of the Ancients*, III.iii.13, in Aldrich and Fehl, *Literature of Classical Art*, vol. 1, 255 and n. 97 in which "rug gowne" is defined as "a rough, shaggy garment."
173 *Painting of the Ancients*, III.iii.11, 13; in ibid., vol. 1, 251, 255.
174 Ibid.
175 Rubens seems to have been familiar with Lomazzo's use of the Farnese Hercules as the basis of the type for representing strong men and for his use of a geometric structure. On the relationship between Rubens and Lomazzo, see Müller Hofstede, *Katalog I: Rubens in Italien*, 50–52, 65 and under notes 4, 6, 11; Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, vol. 1, 20; and Muller, "Theory and Practice of Imitation," 233–34, 244 and under notes 36, 42, and 101. Rubens referred to Quintilian, Cicero, and Plato as authorities to support his Pythagorean theory of geometrical structure. See the inscriptions on the MS Johnson sheets, *De figuris humanis*, fols. 1, 3r; Braham, *Princes Gate Collection*, 22–23; 52–53.
176 Translation by John Newman; cited in ibid., 53.
177 London, The Courtauld Gallery, Princes Gate Collection (inv. No. PG 427 recto and verso); Braham, *Princes Gate Collection*, 52–53, no. 59 with copies in MS Johnson, fols. 8r and 40r; reproduced in Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, vol. 1, pls. XI and XIII. For the classically inspired foundation of Rubens's geometric approach, see Vitruvius, *De Architectura* (Venice, 1511), III.I; and P. Gauricus, *De Sculptura* (1504), chapter 2, para. 5; as cited in van der Meulen, *Copies after the Antique*, vol. 1, 16, under n. 16; and figs. 37–38.
178 Jaap Bolten, "Het Noord- en Zuidnederlandse Tekenboek: 1600–1750" (PhD diss., Universitaet van Amsterdam, 1979), 93; and Braun-Anderson, "Artists' Professional Handbooks," 126.
179 Da Poorter et al., *Rubens en zijn Tijd*, 75–77.
180 This notion of figural "trussing" is also located in a context describing the construction of an ideal, virile male in Junius's *Painting of the Ancients*, 1638, 315–16, opening the

possibility that Junius had Rubens's own work in mind when writing this part of his text.

181 Lomazzo/Haydocke, *Trattato*, 14–15. Translation by John Newman, as cited in Braham, *Princes Gate Collection*, 53.

182 Inv. 1931.0121.

183 Lomazzo/Haydocke, *Trattato*, 17.

184 Ibid. Rubens's drawings after the Belvedere Torso also reflect this interest in heightening the inverted pyramidal effect in the torso.

185 See, for example, Rubens's *Pyramidal and Cubic Basis of the Male Torso*, MS de Ganay, fol. 18 recto, pen over graphite; ill. Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, vol. 1, LXXVII; and Lusheck, "Rubens's Graphic Eclecticism," fig. 1.32.

186 This was the period in which Rubens worked mostly in half-figures in both painting and drawing, especially in his male nudes. Warnke, *Rubens*, 59.

187 Following Apuleius, Junius wrote: "Clay wanteth vigour, stones want colour, pictures want stiffenesse, and every one of these want motion . . ." Junius, *Painting of the Ancients*, III.iv.1 and Apuleius, *Apologia*, IV, in Aldrich and Fehl, *The Literature of Classical Art*, vol. 1, 257.

188 Norgate, *The Art of Limning*, ed. Martin Hardie (Oxford: Clarendon, 1919), 79–80.

189 On Michelangelo's *figura serpentinata*, see David Summers, "Maniera and Movement: The *Figura Serpentinata*," *Art Quarterly* (1972): 269–301. Lomazzo in his 1584 *Trattato* first attributed this formula for movement to Michelangelo. Shearman names Michelangelo's *Victory*, 1527–28, for the tomb of Julius II, as the first example. *Mannerism*, 1967, 81–83, fig. 41.

190 According to Leonardo, the "infinite contours of a figure can be reduced to two half figures – middle back to middle forward." *Leonardo on Painting: An Anthology of Writings by Leonardo da Vinci with a Selection of Documents Relating to his Career as an Artist*, eds. and trans. Martin Kemp and Margaret Walker (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 15–16; and fig. 11. According to De Piles, Rubens carefully studied Leonardo's physiognomic drawings and studies of human proportions, then in the collection of Pompeo Leoni in 1603. De Piles, *Abrégé*, 168. See also Muller, "Rubens' Anatomy Book," 82 and under n. 18. Muller argued that Rubens probably copied a number of Leonardo's anatomical drawings, but for different ends. Rubens, he argued, was more interested in "superficial myology and surface anatomy." Ibid., 83.

191 Junius, *Painting of the Ancients*, 1638, III.iii.10, in Aldrich and Fehl, *The Literature of Classical Art*, vol. 1, 249. See also Junius's listing for Parrhasius in his *Catalogus*; ibid., vol. 2, 889b; and Pliny XXXV.36–67–69 in Jex-Blake and Sellers, *Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*.

192 Aldrich and Fehl, *The Literature of Classical Art*, vol. 1, 249, under n. 64. For Junius, the crux of the problem seems to have resided in the representational limitations of lines ("Geometricall lines"); what he, following ancient mathematicians including Euclid, characterized as nothing else but "length without breadth." Junius describes this as a principle of *Harmoge*, or transition. Ibid., 249–50, and under n. 67.

193 For Lomazzo's inverted "S" ("~"), see Lomazzo/Haydocke, *Trattato*, 17.

194 Lomazzo described the Tuscan or "Rustique" Order as "being stronger than the rest: it hath few ornaments and is of a rude or gross forme." According to Lomazzo, it included a base, or scapus, which was thicker than its top and was made to carry heavy things, like entryways in fortresses. From copies after Rubens in Van Dyck's *Antwerp Sketchbook*, we know that Rubens copied Serlio's designs for the Tuscan column, or Rustic Order (*Rvstico Ordino*) from his *De Architectura libri quinque* (Venice, 1569) and applied Lomazzo's idea of its *Crassitudo superior* to its upper portions. Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, vol. 1, pl. CLXIII, and vol. 2, 245–51, fols. 74 verso–78 verso. For the *Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek* (Washington, National Gallery of Art, inv. 1506), in which the Tuscan column and robust man both figure prominently, see Nora da Poorter, *The Eucharist Series*, CRLB, pt. 2 (Brussels, 1978), 110, 288–92, no. 7c, figs. 122, 124, 127; Held, *Oil Sketches*, vol. 1, 144–46, no. 92; and Sutton, *Age of Rubens*, 271–74, no. 21.

195 Ill., Jaffé, *Antwerp Sketchbook*, vol. 1, pl. LXXX.

196 This angular approach also appears in English painter John Hamilton Mortimer's Borghese Gladiator- and Uffizi Wrestler-inspired portrait of *John Broughton, The Boxer*, c. 1767 (New Haven, Yale Center for British Art).

197 For the association of separated legs with speed and a figural complexity demonstrating a strong, mobile male form (*gagliardezza*) – versus *leggiadro*, applied to females and children, focusing on their soft, delicate fleshiness, and their lack of apparent muscles – in the seventeenth century, see Sharon Fermor, "Movement and Gender in Sixteenth-century Italian Painting," in *The Body Imaged: The Human Form and Visual Culture Since the Renaissance*, eds. Kathleen Adler and Marcia Pointon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 141, 145.

198 The Borghese Gladiator may have even informed the actively raised left arm. In addition to its similar angular emphasis, the Boijmans sheet also evidences a similarly deep, shadowed armpit, arm bent at the elbow, and tightly clenched hands and fingers as the left arm of the sculptural model. Use of the Borghese Gladiator, whose left arm appears remarkably different when viewed from different angles, may even account for the unusually awkward treatment of the Boijmans figure's left arm. Rubens seems to have searched rather unsuccessfully for a way to naturalistically capture the bend of the arm at the elbow, and the resulting foreshortening of the forearm.

199 De Piles, *Conversations*, 256–58.

200 De Piles, *Cours de peinture*, 88.

201 "Le nu même des figures humaines a ses marques de distinction. Les uns pour imiter la chair donnent aux contours une inflexion qui porte cet esprit: les autres pour imiter l'antique conservent dans les contours la régularité des statues, de peur de rien perdre leur beauté." Ibid., 91.

202 Reynolds, *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, ed. Malone, vol. 2 (London: Cadell & Davies, 1809), 418; and *Rubenism*, exh. cat (Providence, RI: Brown University and the Rhode Island School of Design, 1975), 50.

203 For repeated examples of Rubens's use of straight lines for dead figures, see Pierre Aveline after Rubens, *Studies of Dead and Recumbent Figures* in Rubens/Jombert, *Théorie*, pl. XXVII.

204 See, for example, Tintoretto's drawing of a male nude in Oxford, Christ Church (inv. 0354). For Tintoretto's influence on Rubens's *Raising of the Cross*, consult Joshua Reynolds, *A Journey to Flanders and Holland*, 22–26; cited in Martin, *Antwerp Altarpieces*, 39, and figs. 4–5.

205 Wouk, "Frans Floris and *disegno*," 47.

206 For De Piles's comments that Rubens "rendered Painting more lively and natural than Nature herself" and that "Rubens's contours give his nudes a veritable character of flesh," see De Piles, *Conversations*, 257–58. See also Summers, *Michelangelo, The Language of Art*, part I, esp. 96, for a discussion of Michelangelo's related attempts "to impart virtual life though art, ornament, artifice and license" in his *ignudi*.

207 On the classically inspired rhetoric of liveliness in the Renaissance, see M.E. Hazard, "The Anatomy of 'Liveliness' as a Concept in Renaissance Aesthetics," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 33 (1975): 407–18.

208 On the question of enlivening (or the "blooding and fleshing" of) antique marbles, see Michael Jaffé, "Rubens in Italy Part II: Some Rediscovered Works of the First Phase," *Burlington Magazine* 110, no. 781 (1968): 184–87, esp. 184.

209 For the cast of the eyes as indicative of the demeanor of the body, or what Philostratus called "the meaning and intention of the eyes," see Junius, *Painting of the Ancients*, III.iv.3; in Aldrich and Fehl, *Literature of Classical Art*, vol. 1, 261.

210 Ibid.

211 According to Junius, "The head being cast downe, signifieth humbleness; being cast back, arrogance; being hung on either side, languishing; being stiff and sturdie, it signifieth a churlish barbarousnesse of the minde." *Painting of the Ancients*, III.iv.2; in ibid., vol. 1, 258. Junius also wrote of the concerted actions of the eyes and eyelids. Of eyes, he wrote, "sometimes also they must be staring and piercing, closed and hidden, languishing and dull, wanton and stirring or loosly swimming in pleasure . . . asking or promising

something; which to expresse, the eye-lids and ball of the cheeke do wonderfully assist." Eyebrows also have actions that correspond to certain meanings. Ibid., 259.

212 According to Junius, while other parts assist in rhetorical communication, it was "hands themselves [that] . . . doe speake." Ibid. For *energia* and its classical rhetorical basis, see *Painting of the Ancients*, III.iv; ibid., 264–66, and under n. 68. There were also other spellings for this concept, including *Enargeia*, *Energia*, and *Energeia*. Ibid., 375–80, under Appendix IV.

213 Justus Lipsius, *On Constancy* (*De Constantia*), ed. J. Sellars and trans. Sir John Stradling (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2006), 80. For the classical metaphor of the clenched fists in this context, see Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, 12.9, as discussed in Donald Robertson, *The Philosophy of Cognitive Behavioural Therapy: Stoic Philosophy as Rational and Cognitive Psychotherapy* (London: Karnac Books, 2010), 195.

214 Rubens, *De Imitatione Statuarum*, trans. and eds. by Goldwater and Treves, in *Artists on Art*, 148.

215 Joannides, "Michelangelo *bronzista*."

216 For the Plinian concept of *tonus* as a gradation in intensity (vigor) or brightness, see Junius, *Painting of the Ancients*, III.ii.2 and III.iii.9; in Aldrich and Fehl, *The Literature of Classical Art*, vol. 1, 228, 247 and under Appendix IV, 405.

217 Rubens warned against rote copying sculptural models, lest it lead to an unwanted hardening of style and "the effect of stone." Rubens likely adopted this idea, expressed in *De Imitatione Statuarum*, from Armenini who also expressed this view. See Armenini/Olszewski, *True Precepts of Art of Painting*, 77, under n. 6; and Von Ravensburg, *Rubens und Die Antike*, 195–96. Refer to Stechow, *Rubens and the Classical Tradition*, 26, for an English translation of Rubens's passage on the importance of judicious use of antique sculpture and the distinctions between stone and its underlying "intelligence" in *De Imitatione Statuarum*.

218 According to Junius, certain "lineall pictures" show "a deceitfull similitude of Life and Motion . . . as they shew a more lively force in the severall effects and properties of life and spirit." *Painting of the Ancients*, III.iii.12; in Aldrich and Fehl, *Literature of Classical Art*, vol. 1, 252. According to Edward Norgate, the success of any figure lay in such an expression of the qualities of fleshiness, luster, and life fixed by light "touches and wipes of [the] pencill." Norgate contrasted this lively appearance to the chalky and dry figural appearance common to neophyte copyists. Norgate, *Art of Limning*, 1919, 37.

219 In Junius's *Painting of the Ancients*, such colored paper was considered the middle tone, or *tonus*, of the figure which he described as an expression not only of reflected light, but also of the translucence and pliability of the flesh. *Painting of the Ancients*, III.iii.11, and Quintilian, *Inst. Orator.*, VIII.3.6; in Aldrich and Fehl, *Literature of Classical Art*, vol. 1, 251. In *De Imitatione Statuarum*, Rubens contrasted warm human flesh with the inhuman coldness, opacity, dryness, and harsh brightness of marble statuary. De Piles, *Cours de peinture*, 82–85.

220 Norgate, *Art of Limning*, 1919, 83.

221 Lomazzo/Haydocke, *Trattato*, chapter XI, 33–34.

222 To illustrate this point, Junius invoked the classical statue of a wrestler. *The Painting of the Ancients*, III.iv.2; in Aldrich and Fehl, *Literature of Classical Art*, vol. 1, 260–61. For a description by Pythagoras of the wrestler Leontiscus, who "defeated his opponents by bending back their fingers," see Junius, *Catalogus*, no. 1034 in Aldrich and Fehl, *Literature of Classical Art*, vol. 2, 358. Junius referred to Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, VI.4.3–4 in this regard.

223 In Lomazzo's discussion of Hercules, he added that hair "should be thicke, and well tangled together, and diversely interwrapped with each other, yet not very fine, but something rugged and grosse: for smallness belongeth unto weaklings." Large, rugged figures should also evidence a "svarte" complexion, open eyes, and open nostrils. Lomazzo/Haydocke, *Trattato*, 87.

224 See Chapter 2, in this volume.

225 Lomazzo/Haydocke, *Trattato*, 37. According to Lomazzo, such roughness "exerciseth rough, harde, and cruell actions, in which nobility, pity, mildnesse or love are never found . . like barberous nations – Tartarians, Scythians, or rude men, bare-legged, fierce,

without any military art . . .” Ibid. On the relationship of Lomazzo’s “martial type” to Rubens’s early studies and to Dürer’s studies of proportion which Rubens studied in his Pocketbook (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett), see Müller Hofstede, *Katalog I: Rubens in Italien*, 50, and under ns. 3–4.

226 *Inst. Orat.*, II.3.147. For the importance of force and heat as a persuasive means of evidencing energy and liveliness in art, see for example Junius, *Painting of the Ancients*, III.iv.4; in Aldrich and Fehl, *Literature of Classical Art*, vol. 1, 264–65.

227 According to Quintilian, repeated by Junius, something must not be “too strong” or else it may destroy the balance of delicacy and force. This concern seems to be reflected in contemporary criticisms of his St. Christopher of the *Descent of the Cross* as being “too rough.”

228 According to De Piles, lightness was a characteristic of moving, graceful figures. In his discussion of the “*caractère*” of the *Fall of the Damned*, he described the hopelessness and disorder caused by the natural heaviness of the figures. De Piles, *Dissertations*, 89. On Rubens’s treatment of the subject, see also Konrad Renger, “The Fall of the Damned,” in *Rubens Cantoor*, ed. Nieuwdorp, 220–27.

229 With softer features and less facial hair than his Hercules figures, or even the black chalk *Crouched Man* in the Louvre, the figure appears less hirsute, less “rough,” and less barbaric, than many of his Farnese types.

230 On the flame-like shape in Michelangelo and Lomazzo as expressive of figural *furia*, see Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art*, 81ff; and Shearman, *Mannerism*, 1991, 81.

231 See Quintilian’s comparison of eloquence (*stilo vires*) with robust health (*robustia*). *Inst. Orat.*, II.2. Quintilian also compares the rhetorician to an athlete. *Inst. Orat.*, V.12.21, X.1.4, and X.5.15.

232 *Inst. Orat.*, II.3.

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Index of Works

Rubens, Peter Paul (1577–1640)

Drawings

Alcibiades Interrupting the Symposium, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York *10*, 11, 104, 111; ill. *Figure 1.4*
Anatomical Study of a Nude (Reaching Up to the Left), Art Gallery of Ontario, Ontario 179, *180*; ill. *Figure 4.9*
Baptism of Christ, Louvre, Paris 6, 154n109
Battle of Lapiths and Centaurs, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam *125*; ill. *Figure 3.12*
Battle of Nude Men (after Barthel Beham), National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 26, *27*; ill. *Figure 1.7*
Christ Crowned with Thorns, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick 150, 147n2
The Death of Dido, Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, ME 15, 27, 70, 78n15, 116, *117*; ill. *Figure 3.9*
Descent from the Cross, Hermitage, St. Petersburg 185, 187
Drawings after Raphael and Holbein, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin xxv, 26, 29, 68, 130, 135, 181; ill. *Plate 13*
Écorchés (Anatomical Studies), J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles 163, 178; ill. *Plate 32*
The Entombment of Christ, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam *xx*; *Figure 0.1*
Fallen Tree with Brambles, Duke of Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth xxii, xxix
Head of the Farnese Hercules, The Courtauld Gallery, London 203, *204*; ill. *Figure 4.18*
Hercules Fighting the Nemean Lion, The Clark, Williamstown, MA 218
Hercules Victorious Over Discord, British Museum, London xxvii, 120, 164; ill. *Plate 22*
Hero and Leander, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven 117
Israelites Wrestling with Giant Snakes (after Michelangelo's *Moses and the Brazen Serpent*), British Museum, London 27; ill. *Plate 11*
Job's Wife; Judith and Holofernes (Two Copies after Tobias Stimmer), The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York xx, 26, 103, 119; ill. *Plate 1*
King David Playing his Harp, Louvre, Paris 68, 89n211
A Kneeling Man, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam xxii, 58, 75, 98, 162, 164, 169, 183; ill. *Plate 30* (*see also* Chapter 4 case study, in this volume)
*A Lioness (*after the bronze Paduan Lion*), British Museum, London* xx, 6, 27; ill. *Plate 6*
Man in Korean Costume, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles xxv, 220; ill. *Plate 40*
A Man Threshing beside a Wagon, J. Paul Getty, Los Angeles, Museum xxiv, 119–20; ill. *Plate 4*
Medea Fleeing in Her Chariot, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam *114*, 121; ill. *Figure 3.8*
Nero Contemplating the Dead Agrippina, Musée Bonnat, Bayonne 117
Nude Man, Seen Partly from Behind, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam 164

Path through an Orchard, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, UK xx, *xxi*; ill. *Figure 0.2*
Peasants Dancing (Study for a *Kermesse*), British Museum, London xxi, xxvii, 120; ill. *Plate 21*
Poetry and Virtue, Plantin Museum, Antwerp 7, 34n25
Portrait of Isabella Brandt, British Museum, London xx, xxvii; ill. *Plate 2*
Portrait of Justus Lipsius, British Museum, London 21, 23, 30; ill. *Plate 10*
Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata, private collection 64, 68
Silenus and Aegle with Other Studies, Windsor Castle, The Royal Collection xxi, *xxii*; ill. *Figure 0.3*
Studies of the Farnese Hercules, fol. 427r, The Courtauld Gallery, London 198, 205–6, 214; ill. *Plate 35*
Studies of the Farnese Hercules, fol. 427v, The Courtauld Gallery, London 205–6, 210; ill. *Plate 36*
Studies for the Suicide of Dido (*or Thisbe?*), [or Anthony van Dyck?], Musée du Louvre, Paris 48, 116–17, 138, 141, 143, 145, 152n78, 159n175; ill. *Plate 29*
Studies for the Visitation, Musée Bonnat, Bayonne 70, 82
Studies of Women after Titian, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles 59
Study after the Belvedere Torso, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 208; ill. *Plate 37*
Study of Blackthorn with Brambles and Other Plants, The Courtauld Gallery, London xx, xxiv; ill. *Plate 3*
Study of a Crouched Man, Lifting a Heavy Object, Musée du Louvre, Paris 164, *166*, 170, 182, 216, 219, 234n229; ill. *Figure 4.2*
Study of a Female Saint, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York xx–xi
Study for the Figure of Christ on the Cross, British Museum, London 98, 164, *167*, 202; ill. *Figure 4.3*
Study of the Laocoön and His Sons, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan 25, 48, 132, *133*, 169, 181; ill. *Figure 3.15*
Study of Niobe, Pushkin Museum, Moscow xxx, 117
Study of a Nude Man on His Back (Prometheus), Paris, Musée du Louvre 164, *165*, 219; ill. *Figure 4.1*
Study of Two Half-Naked Men (Study for the Martyrdom of St. Lauretius), Stockholm, Nationalmuseum 172, *173*; ill. *Figure 4.6*
Three Figures from a Roman Sarcophagus, The Art Institute of Chicago 104, 105, 121; ill. *Figure 3.4*
Three Graces, University Library Print Room, Warsaw 203
Three Groups of Apostles in a Last Supper; J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles 95, *96*, 134–5; ill. *Figure 3.1*
Three Sketches for Medea and Her Children, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles xxi, 25, 79, 95–104; *Plate 15* (*see also* Chapter 3 case study, in this volume)
Three Sketches for Medea and Her Children (detail, figural grouping at left), J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles 100, *101*, 103, 130–1, 137; ill. *Figure 3.2*
Three Sketches for Medea and Her Children (detail, figural grouping at right), J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles *102*, 103, 126, 130–2, 137; ill. *Figure 3.3*
Three Sketches for Medea and Her Children (detail, figural grouping at center), J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles 110; ill. *Figure 3.6*
Three Sketches for Medea and Her Children (detail, inscription), J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles 122–6, *123*; ill. *Figure 3.11*
Trees Reflected in Water at Sunset, British Museum, London xxii
Two Studies of a Boy after the Spinario, London, British Museum 27, 164, 221n11
Venus Lamenting Adonis, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. xxv, 26, 29, 71–2, 111; ill. *Plate 14*

Oil Sketches

Abraham and Melchizedek, National Gallery of Art, Washington 214
Achilles Dipped into the River Styx, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam 131; ill. *Plate 25*

Adoration of the Magi, Groninger Museum, Groningen 186, 208
Falling Icarus, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels 131

Paintings

The Adoration of the Magi, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon 169
The Adoration of the Magi, Prado, Madrid 163, 169–71, 185–6, 192, 202, 222n25; ill. *Plate 31*
African Fisherman (Dying Seneca), Alte Pinakothek, Munich 21, 116
The Consequences of War (Horrors of War) Palazzo Pitti, Florence 3, 6–7, 9, 47, 95, 109; ill. *Plate 5*
Crowning with Thorns, Municipal Hospital, Grasse 134
Death of Decius Mus and cycle of Decius Mus, 6, 116
Descent from the Cross (Deposition), Onze Lieve Vrouwkerk, Antwerp 29, 128, 187–8; ill. *Plate 23*
Embarkment of Marie de' Medici at Marseilles, Louvre, Paris 49, 176
Fall of the Damned (Last Judgment), Alte Pinakothek, Munich 131, 185–87, 218
The Four Philosophers, Palazzo Pitti, Florence 21, 23; ill. *Plate 9*
Hercules and Omphale, Louvre, Paris 134
Lion Hunt, Alte Pinakothek, Munich xxiii, 65
Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, Staatliche Museen, Berlin 185
Martyrdom of St. Lieven, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels 186
Martyrdom of St. Thomas, National Gallery, Prague 134
Massacre of the Innocents, Alte Pinakothek, Munich 107, 109, 132; ill. *Plate 18*
Massacre of the Innocents, Ontario Art Gallery, Ontario 107, 150n45
The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Caen *170*, 202; ill. *Figure 4.5*
Milkmaids with Cattle in a Landscape (The Farm at Laken), Buckingham Palace, London 6, 7; ill. *Figure 1.2*
Minerva Protecting Pax from Mars (Peace and War), London, National Gallery 3, *4*; ill. *Figure 1.1*
Miracles of St. Francis Xavier, Kunsthistorisches Institute, Vienna 47
Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 7, 47; ill. *Plate 12*
Prometheus Bound, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, 163, 185–7, 221n5
Raising of the Cross, Onze Lieve Vrouwkerk, Antwerp 46, 134, 163, 185–7, 226n76; ill. *Plate 7*
Rape of Ganymede, Prado, Madrid 134
St. Christopher Carrying the Christ Child, Onze Lieve Vrouwkerk, Vienna 186–7; 227n108
Saints Gregory, Domitilla, Maurus and Papianus, Musée Fabre, Montpellier 26
Samson and Delilah, c. 1609–10, National Gallery, London 129, *184*, 195; ill. *Figure 4.10*
Self-Portrait with the Mantuan Circle of Friends, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Köln 21; ill. *Plate 8*

Title Page Designs

Title page, Justus Lipsius, *L[ucii] Annaei Senecae philosophi Opera*, . . . (Antwerp, 1605), engraving, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp 21, *22*, 27; ill. *Figure 1.6*
Title page, Justus Lipsius, *Opera Omnia* (Antwerp, 1637), engraving by Cornelis Galle, British Museum, London *18*, 20; ill. *Figure 1.5*

After Rubens/Rubens School

After Rubens, *Alexander with a Thunderbolt*, Staatens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen xxxn30
After Rubens, *Male Figures in Movement and Female Figures at Rest*, MS de Ganay, fol.60r 215
After Rubens, *Study from the MS Johnson Pocketbook of Rubens* (Cubic Demonstration of a Robust Man), drawing, fol. 57r, The Courtauld Gallery, London 205–6, *207*, 214; ill. *Figure 4.19*
After Rubens, *Study from the MS Johnson Pocketbook of Rubens* (Elements of the Human Figure), drawing, fol. 75r,

The Courtauld Gallery, London *199*, 200; ill. *Figure 4.17*
After Rubens, *Study from the MS Johnson Pocketbook of Rubens* (Study of Male Torso, three-quarter view), drawing, fol. 47r, The Courtauld Gallery, London 211, *212*; ill. *Figure 4.21*
After Rubens, *Two Views of the Torso Belvedere*, drawing, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen 217, *218*; ill. *Figure 4.23*

Aveline, Pierre
Studies of Figures Pushing and Pulling (after Leonardo), engraving, in Rubens/Jombert, *La Théorie de la Figure Humaine* (Paris, 1773), Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles 192, *193*, 195; *ill. Figure 4.14*
Studies of the Laocoön, Hercules and Atlas, engraving, in Rubens/Jombert, *La Théorie de la Figure Humaine* (Paris, 1773), Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles 195, *197*; ill. *Figure 4.16*
Study of a Dancing Maenad, engraving, in Rubens/Jombert, *La Théorie de la Figure Humaine* (Paris, 1773); Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles 126, *127*; ill. *Figure 3.13*

Dyck, Anthony van

Adam and Eve Expelled from the Garden, Stedelijk Prentenkabinett, Antwerp 119
The Jesuit Nicolas Trigault in Chinese Costume, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York xxv, *xxvi*; ill. *Figure 0.4*
Kneeling Man Seen from Behind, drawing, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam 171, 182, 214, 220; ill. *Plate 33*

Panneels, Willem
Laocoön's Head in Two Positions, drawing, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen 48, 133; *134*; ill. *Figure 3.16*
Study after the Wrestlers, drawing, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen *191*; ill. *Figure 4.12*

Petel, Georg
Crucifix, ivory 134

Works by Other Artists

Classical

Apollo Belvedere, Vatican Museums, Vatican 25
Belvedere Torso, marble, Vatican Museums, Vatican 24, 181, 208, *209*, 126, 217; ill. *Figure 4.20*
Bust of Pseudo-Seneca ("*Farnese Seneca*"), marble copy, Rubenshuis, Antwerp 22–3
Commodus (Emperor) as Hercules, Vatican Museum, Vatican 195, 198, 210
The Death of Niobe's Children, Roman sarcophagus relief, marble, Venice, National Archaeological Museum *122*, 123–4; ill. *Figure 3.10*
Farnese Hercules, marble, Villa Farnese, Rome; copy in Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples 181, 188, *189*, 190, 195, 198, 203–5; ill. *Figure 4.11*
Gladiator (Roman), marble, Louvre, Paris 215
Hercules mingens, marble 190
The Laocoön and His Two Sons, Hellenistic (?) Greek, marble, Vatican Museums, Vatican 24–6, 100, 132–3, 137, 156n135, 157n150, 208, 216; ill. *Plate 27*
Maenad reliefs, Roman copies after Greek originals, Louvre, Paris; Villa Albani, Rome; Archaeological Museum, Turin 126
Medea in her Chariot ("Ostia relief"), Roman marble fragment 121
Myth of Medea, Roman sarcophagus, marble, Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome 112, 115, 121, 128; ill. *Plate 19*
Sacrifice of the Ox, marble relief, Villa Medici, Rome 172; ill. *Plate 34*
Spinario, bronze, Capitoline Museum, Rome 27
Wrestlers, Roman copy after a Greek original, marble, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence *192*, 215; ill. *Figure 4.13*

Early Modern

Anonymous
Bust of Niobe, plaster, 17th c. (?), Rubenshuis, Antwerp 134

Alberti, Pier Francesco
Accademia (The Painters' Studio) in Rome, etching, Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow *175*; ill. *Figure 4.7*

Alciati, Andrea
Emblem of *Medea Killing Her Children*, *Emblemata* (Padua, 1621), woodcut; 112, *113*; ill. *Figure 3.7*

Backer, Jacob Adriaensz
Seated Female Nude (Study for Venus), drawing, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 166, *168*; Figure 4.4

Bie, Jacques de
Emblems, in Cesare Ripa and Jean Baudoin, *Iconologie* (Paris, 1643), engravings: *Gravité* 121; and *Estouffement des Mauvaises Pensées* 112

Botticelli, Sandro
Primavera, painting, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence 67

Brun, Charles le
Expression Studies for Pain (*La Douleur de l'esprit*), drawing, Paris, Musée du Louvre 135, *136*, 137; ill. *Figure 3.17*
The Sharp Pain of Body and Mind: Composite Movement (La Douleur aiguë du corps et de l'esprit: mouvement composé), drawing, Paris, Musée du Louvre 137; ill. *Plate 28*

Cornelisz. van Haarlem, Cornelis
Massacre of the Innocents, painting, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem, on long-term loan from the Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, The Hague 103, 107; ill. *Plate 17*

Goltzius, Hendrick
Venus and Mars Surprised by Vulcan, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles 50

Harrewijn, Jacob (after Jan van Croes)
View of the Garden of the Rubenshuis, engraving, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 53; ill. *Figure 2.1*
View of the Garden of the Rubenshuis (detail), engraving, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 7, 8; ill. *Figure 1.3*

Holbein, Hans
Dance of Death, woodcuts (various collections) 26

Janssen, Abraham
Allegory of the Scheldt, painting, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp 185

Leonardo da Vinci
Studies for the Battle of Anghiari, drawing, Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice 119; ill. *Plate 20*
Study of a Nude Man from Behind, drawing, Windsor Castle, The Royal Collection 214; ill. *Plate 39*
The Virgin and Child with Saint Anne and John the Baptist, cartoon, National Gallery, London 131–2; ill. *Plate 26*

Mercator, Gerard
Literarum Latinarum . . . Ratio (Antwerp, 1540), engraving, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München; 70, 71; ill. *Figure 2.2*

Michelangelo
Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs, marble, Casa Buonarotti, Florence 125
Libyan Sibyl, drawing, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 179
Pietà, marble, St. Peter's Basilica, Vatican 29, 129
Seated Young Man and Two Right Arms, drawing, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina 211, *213*; ill. *Figure 4.22*
Studies for the Sistine Ceiling and the Tomb of Pope Julius II (The Genius Accompanying the Libyan Sibyl), drawing, The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford 211; ill. *Plate 38*

Poussin, Nicolas
Massacre of the Innocents, painting, Musée Condé, Chantilly 107

Raimondi, Marcantonio (after Raphael)
Massacre of the Innocents, engraving, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 107, 108, 109; ill. *Figure 3.5*

Raphael
Studies of the Virgin and Child, drawing, British Museum, London 15, 99–100, 104; ill. *Plate 16*

Raphael, School of
Massacre of the Innocents, tapestry, from the scenes from the Life of Christ (Scuola Nuova) series, Vatican Museums, Vatican 129–30; ill. *Plate 24*
Massacre of the Innocents (detail), tapestry, from the scenes from the Life of Christ (*Scuola Nuova*) series, Vatican Museums, Vatican *130*, 131; ill. *Figure 3.14*

Reni, Guido
Massacre of the Innocents, painting, Pinacoteca, Bologna 107

Stradanus, Jan
Northern Painter's Studio, engraving, British Museum, London 176, 177; ill. *Figure 4.8*

Tintoretto (Jacopo Robusti)
Raising of the Cross, painting, Scuola Grande di San Rocco, Venice 185–6, 216

Veen, Otto van
The Ages of Man, in *Quinti Horatii Flacci Emblemata, imaginibus . . . Illustrata* (Antwerp, 1607), engraving, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München *144*, 145; ill. *Figure 3.18*

Index

abundant style *see copia*
adornments, bodily 179, 203, 225n59
aemulatio 13, 16, 28, 147; *see also* emulation
aesthetic coherence 56
affetti 28, 106, 135, 201; *see also* passions
Age of Eloquence 56; *see also* eloquence: in the Lipsian epistolary sphere
Albert and Isabella, Spanish rulers of the Netherlands 4, 46, 170
Alberti, Leon Battista 6, 135, 162, 178–9, 201–2; *istoria* 132, 162, 181, 201–2; *On Painting* 156n33, 162, 201
Alberti, Pier Francesco 175; Figure 4.7
Alciati, Andrea 112–13; *Emblemata* 112; Figure 3.7
Aleandro, Girolamo 111; *Typus zonae statua . . .* 111
all'antica style xxvii, 120–29
all'improvviso drawing 97–107; *see also schizzi*
allegory, pictorial 20, 111, 121, 128, 185; Rubens and 3, 7, 9, 27, 30, 47, 49; *Embarkment of Marie de' Medici at Marseilles* 49; *Horrors of War* 7, 9, 47, Plate 5
altarpieces *see* Antwerp: altarpieces
Ames-Lewis, Francis 12, 49
Amman, Jost 17, 25
anatomy book 28, 43n181, 181, 225n61, 231n90
anima 145, 173
animals, as subjects 68, 126, 181, 195, 230n164
animation *see* liveliness, rhetoric of
animus 52, 139, 146
Antwerp: altarpieces 7, 46–7, 129, 185–7; artists working in 12–13, 17, 20; as agricultural and mercantile crossroads 46; Jesuit influence, 46–7, 52, 77n3, Figure 0.4; churches in 7, 129, 184–7; decline of 3, 47, 171; Guild of St. Luke 16–17; Het Steen 12; Plantin and Plantin-Moretus Press 21, 46, 51, 112, 116–18; Rubens's palazzo 7–8, 11, 53, Figure 1.3; Rubens's studio/workshop xx, xxii, xxiv, 5, 8, 11, 13, 23, 36n44, 36n50, 68, 75, 99, 133, 146, 163, 174; Scheldt River 46, 171, 185; Spanish influence in 4, 46, 170–71; *Statenkamer* and new town hall 170, 184–6
Apelles 5, 7, 49, 53, 55, 147
appetite *see* diet metaphor, imitation
appropriateness *see* aptness
apte dicere 60, 62
aptness: of emulative models 23, 29, 54, 56, 65, 75–6, 109, 175, 177, 179, 192, 205; iconographic 73, 112, 134, 202, 210; of language or style 8, 60, 62, 110, 120–29, 141, 143, 146, 178, 192, 202; *see also apte dicere* and decorum
archaeology: as approach to drawing 75–6, 97, 109; documentary copying 69–70; excavation metaphor, imitative 57, 63, 67, 75, 91n248; *see also* humanism, as archaeological enterprise
architecture, metaphors of: bodily 179–81, 225n225; figural and pictorial scaffolding 179, 185–6; figural and pictorial "trussing" 205–6, 214–15, 221n4, 230n180; *see also* Alberti, Leon Battista
Aretino, Pietro 47, 151n53
Aristotle 5, 51–2, 60, 145, 210; *Ars Rhetorica* 51; form and matter 13, 31, 44n203, 83n96
Armenini, G.B. 12–13, 190; On the true precepts of the art of painting *12–13, 190*
Arnauld, Antoine 57–8
arrangement, compositional 26–7, 62, 126, 132; *see also dispositio* and *ordo*
Ars 31, 174, 194
artifice 68, 76, 176–8, 182, 185, 187, 215, 232n206; *see also Ars* and Junius,

Franciscus: Studious Artificer; and Rubens, Peter Paul: as Studious Artificer
Atticism: classical 61–2, 121; early modern 50, 56–8, 61–2, 138–40, 142–3
audacia 190
Aveline, Pierre 43n183, 48, 127, 163, 195, 197, 228n131, 232n203, Figures 3.13, 4.14, 4.16

bacchante 126; *see also maenad*
Backer, Jacob Adriaensz. 166, 168, Figure 4.4
Bacon, Francis 29, 44n192, 54–5, 57–8, 82n86; *Advancement of Learning* 29
Badius, Josse 51
Balis, Arnout xxiii, 171
Balzac, Jean-Louis Guez de 64, 66, 88n192, 88n194; *Lettres* 66, 88n192
Bambach, Carmen 49
Barnwell, Harry 138
Barocci, Federico 181
Barzman, Karin-edis 49
bas-relief, classical 112, 121–6, 128
Baudius, Dominicus 187, 221n5
Baudoin, Jean 112; *Iconologie* 112
Baxandall, Michael 49, 107, 36n150
Bellori, Giovanni Pietro 25, 28, 42n175, 48, 99, 106, 135
Belvedere Torso 24, 26, 126, 181, 208, 210, 217, Figures 4.20, 4.23, Plate 37
Bembo, Pietro 47, 151n53
Berry, Jon 141
Bie, Jacob de 112, 121, 151n62, 153n96
binnentrecken 103; *see also* contours, in drawing
body, metaphors of the: for art 31, 73, 220; for eloquence 56, 75, 166; for health 84n123; for society 59, 67, 77n8, 84n122, 220; *see also* medical analogy
Bolten, Jaap 205
Borghese Gladiator 192, 198, 203, 215, 232n196, 232n198
Borghese, Scipione 215
Borromeo, Charles 187; *Instructiones fabricate et supellectilis ecclesiasticae* 187
brevitas 62, 66, 72, 74, 86n156, 104, 145–6; *see also* brief, or condensed style
brief, or condensed style: applied to Rubens 104, 146; humanist taste for 74, 105; *see also laconismus* and Lipsius, Justus: brief, plain style
Brown, Christopher 171, 221n15
Bruegel, Pieter 10, 17, 49
Brueghel, Jan 47, 77n7, 149n24

cabinet: as collection 182; as private space 66, 111–12; *see also Cantoor*, Rubens's and studiolo
calligraphy 70, Figure 2.2
Camerarius, Rudolph Jacob 63
Cantoor, Rubens's xxiv, 11–12; *Cantoor* drawings 133, 163, 169, 191
capriccio 13, 177
Carleton, Dudley xxiii, 185
Carracci, Annibale 16
Carracci, Ludovico 95–6
Castiglione, Baldassare 53, 77n9; 149n29, 176, 224n45; *Book of the Courtier* 77n9
catharsis 120, 140, 145
Causaubon, Isaac 63
Caylus, Comte de 14–16, 146
characterköpfen see expression studies
Chifflet, J.J. 68
Chifflet, Philippe 5
Cicero 51–4, 58, 63, 73, 90n234, 230n175; *De Natura Deorum* 52; *De Oratore* 51–2, 80n49; *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 52, 80n49
clothing: classical 97, 103, 121–2; skin as 178–9, 202–3; *see also* adornments, bodily and sartorial metaphor
Cochin, Charles-Nicolas 172
Coecke van Aelst, Pieter 129
collectors and collecting, art xix, xxiii, 10–12, 14–16, 25, 35n41, 36n42, 46, 49, 51, 63, 75, 98, 121, 132, 134, 154n99, 156n137, 174, 181, 184–5, 215; *see also liefhebbers*
Commodus, Emperor (as Hercules) 195, 198, 210, 229n153
competition: in argumentation 60; in art xxi, 171, 188
condensation, graphic *see* distillation
consciousness: artistic and historical 106; human 103; self, identity 100, 138; viewer 46, 76
constancy 21, 23, 58–59, 65, 84n121, 116, 137–8, 146; see also *Neostoicism*
contour drawings xxv, 48, 89n221, 210; *see also* contours, in drawing
contours, in drawing 70–72, 100, 102–4, 124–6, 130–32, 179, 182–3, 214–17, 219; flexed 183, 211, 214–15; living and antique 215
Conus 210, 220; *see also* fire, metaphor of and Lomazzo, G.P.
copia 51–6, 59–60, 81n72
copies, copying: after life 171; archaeological mode 125; associated with pupils 177, 224n52; classical sculpture 169; deadening effect of 174; Rubens, by or after xxix,

xxiv, 12, 24–26, 28, 54, 75, 154n99, 163, 169, 183–4, 192; Rubens criticized for not 19; slavish 24, 31, 67, 174; in the studio 48, 50; warnings against 78, 223n217
Corneille, Pierre 56, 95, 138, 140, 158n166
Cornelisz. van Haarlem, Cornelis 103, 107, 149n23
corrections, drawing 26, 64, 183; *see also pentimenti*
Correggio 108
corruption: figural 131, 186, 218, 234n228; social 188; *see also* style: corruption of
Costume Book 25
Courtright, Nicola 50
crabbelinge xix, 15, 64, 98
Crassitudo 205–6, 208, 211
Creusa 110–12, 115, 117–18, 120, 128, 137, 140–2, 147, 159n168; *see also* Medea

DaCosta Kauffmann, Thomas 7–8, 50
De Clippel, Karolien 224n44
De figuris humanis 28, 43n183, 54, 163, 169, 191, 194–5, 198, 200, 205, 211
decline, artistic and social 9, 188, 190, 218, 220; *see also* laziness
decorum 29, 52, 54, 60–62, 86n158, 126, 141
Delacroix, Eugène 188
Demetrius of Phaleron 51, 61–2, 74, 86n153; *De Elocutione* 51, 61
Democritus 53
demonstrations, graphic 3, 13–14, 68, 30, 98, 124, 135, 163–4, 206, 210, 214; Figure 4.19; *see also dimostrazione*
Dempsey, Charles 16, 39n102, 67
Descamps, J.B. 187
Descartes, René 157n144, 157n149; *mouvements* of the body and soul 135, 137, 140
despair 68, 156n135; *see also* Rubens, Peter Paul, *Medea Fleeing with her Dead Children*, case study
Dézallier d'Argenville, Antoine Joseph xxxn27, 14
dicentia 62
Dido 65, 97, 138, 140–41, 143, Figure 3.9, Plate 29
diet metaphor, imitation 54–6, 58–9, 67, 74; *see also* digestion metaphor
difficultà, difficulty 28, 57–8, 71, 97, 105, 117, 182
digestion metaphor 17, 19, 24, 54–6, 59, 67, 107, 145; *see also* honey and bee metaphor
dimostrazione 3, 206
diplomacy xxiii, 20; Rubens's interest in 3–4, 11, 28, 46, 63–4, 163, 170–71
discrimination: aesthetic 7, 52, 76n1, 79n40; stylistic xxii, 220
disegno xxvii, 3, 12–14, 49, 62, 99, 175; *see also* Vasari, Giorgio
disegno interno, *esterno see* Zuccaro, Federico
dispositio 55, 59, 76, 98, 100, 126, 132, 143
distillation: in drawing xxii, xxv, xxxn25, 25, 71–2, 75, 99, 106, 120, 128, 146, 210–11; fermentation metaphor 54–5; *see also* digestion metaphor
drawing: *ad vivum* 171–2, 182, 221n5, 226n77; connoisseurial approach to xix, 76, 96; expanding functional definitions of xxvii–xviii, 75; grace in 3, 103, 126, 131, 176, 182, 202–3, 210, 217–20; graphic absences in 141–2; preparatory functions of xxiv–xxviii, 75, 98, 170; slavish or childish imitation in 74, 173–4, 177; words in 89n209; *see also disegno*; and Rubens, Peter Paul, drawings
drawing, workshop traditions: Italian Renaissance xxvii–xxviii; 4–6, 12–4, 16, 24, 48–9, 57, 171, 175–6, Figure 4.7; northern: xxiv, xxvii, 7–13, 16–17, 129, 164, 171–2, 176, 185, 223n32, 226n77; Figure 4.8; *see also* Rubens, Peter Paul: workshop training and practice
Dunn, Catherine 60, 86n140
Dupuy, Jacques 65, 190
Dupuy, Pierre 29–30, 51, 64, 66, 77n6
Dürer, Albrecht 181, 225n67, 229n147, 234n225; *Four Books on Human Proportions* 181
Dutch Revolt 3, 47, 170
Dyck, Anthony van xix, xxii, xxv, 48, 142–3, 163, 171–2, 182, 191, 214, Plate 33

eclecticism: 9, 16, 19, 23–4, 31, 51–6, 73, 175; the problem of, in Rubens's drawings xix-xxviii; superficiality, dangers of 73–4; *see also copia*
écorchés 163, 178–9
Eden, Kathy 70
ejaculation metaphor, for drawing 105–6, 146
ekphrasis 187, 221n5
elementi 190, 201, 206, 228n126; *see also* Leonardo da Vinci: microcosm
elocutio 90n237; *see also* Demetrius of Phaleron: *De Elocutione*
eloquence: battle over 66; bodily metaphor for 31, 73–4; 201, 221n4; in Cicero, 52; eloquentia perfecta 52; epistolary 65–7;

Hermathena 7–8, 20–21; painting analogy 90n234; as rhetorical art 7–9; 51–4, 66–7; in the Lipsian epistolary sphere 56–67; 234n231; models, role of 31; and ordo 55–6; redefinition of, epistolary 66; Rubens's commitments to 30–31, 51–6; in Rubens's milieu 7–8, 16, 19–21, 51–2, 56–67; *see also* Quintilian: art of eloquence
Eloquent I 7–8, 16, 56, 75; *see also eloquence*
emblems, early modern 95, 112–15, 121, 145, Figure 3.7, Figure 3.18
emulation 13, 16, 109, 147, 221n5; disguised 6–7, 11, 54, 59, 84n82, 172, 203–4; *see also* digestion metaphor; imitation; and Rubens, Peter Paul, as a draftsman: emulation
enargeia (*energia, energeai*) 108, 216–17, 233n212
enlivenment xxvii, 25, 175; of antique statuary 27, 31, 67, 124, 164, 169, 203, 216; figural 162, 174–5, 178, 194, 210; *see also* liveliness, rhetoric of; and *vivacità*
epistulae familiares 57; *see also* letters, personal
Erasmus, Desiderius 51–2, 54, 59–60, 71, 104, 132, 139, 142; *De conscribendis epistolis* 59–60; *De duplici copia rerum ac verborum* 51, 59–60, 85n129; imitative approach 59–60; language, worries about 60; *see also apte dicere*; *copia*; and *modo variato*
esprit 15, 135–7, 157n150, 215, 232n201
essays 54–9, 64; brevity in 82n86; as "dispersed meditations" 55; and drawing 57; originality in 57, 64, 82n86; and personal letters 55–9; and the vernacular 64; *see also* Bacon, Francis; and Montaigne, Michel de
Euclid 208, 231n192
Euripides, *Medea* 95, 110–12, 115, 120, 148n7, 152n64
evidentia 57, 74
exemplar, exemplars 19, 25, 30–31, 116, 139–40, 186, 190, 198; *see also* models: storehouses of
exemplum doloris, Gettty Medea as 129–38, 145
exercise: and artistic athleticism 220; as imitative metaphor 30–31, 67; mental 105; physical, virtues of 31, 190, 219; as praxis 72, 190; *see also* health metaphor; and Mercurialis, Hieronymus
expression studies 98, 133–9, 157n149, 166; of mental and bodily pain 135–7; Figure 3.16, Figure 3.17, Plate 28
fantasia 13; *see also* imagination
Farnese, Cardinal Alessandro 45n206, 174, 190
Farnese Hercules 31, 120, 169, 174, 181; as model for Rubens's robust male nude 188–90, 195, 198, 200, 202–6, 208; Farnese Hercules type 198, 203, 206; Figures 4.11, 4.18; Plates 35, 56
Fayd'herbe, Lucas 12
Fehl, Philipp 3, 9, 25, 214
Fehrenbach, Frank 49
fermentation metaphor *see* distillation
figura serpentinata 210–11, 231n189
fire, metaphor of 21, 146, 210, 220; *see also* heat
Flanders 3, 5, 46, 77n6, 188, 223n41; *see also* Rubens, Peter Paul: Flanders, love of
flexion 100, 193, 215–6; *see also* contours, in drawing
flexus 215
Floris, Frans xxvii, 13, 16
form and matter *see* Aristotle
Franco, Giacomo 181; *De excellentia et nobilitate delineationis, libri duo* 181
freedom: in drawing 16, 183, 215; in letter writing 88n185; *see also liberté*, in drawing
friendship, in Rubens's *milieu* 5–7, 10–12, 14, 17–8, 20–23; in Lipsian epistolary sphere 59, 61, 63–4, 69–71, 74, 87n166
Fumaroli, Marc 56–7, 62, 74, 82n83, 158n164, 159n172
furia 99, 107, 119, 130, 156n130, 220, 234n230
furore 126, 139, 146, 155n114, 158n158

gagliardezza 215, 232n197
Garff, Jan 12
Gassendi, Pierre 69
Gauricus, Pomponius 51, 80n47, 205
geometry: ideal figural 28, 52, 193, 198, 200, 205–8, 210–15, 231n192; sculptural underpinnings xxv, 205–10, 230n175; *see also* Euclid
gender, engendering 7, 122, 195, 198–203, 215
generative grammars *see* grammars, generative
Gevaert (Gevartius), Gaspar 54, 69
Geest, Cornelis van der 185
Ghering, Anton 187
Ghiberti, Lorenzo 6
Giotto 132, 135
Giovio, Paolo 73
Glück, Gustav 176, 223n28
Goeree, Willem 50, 164, 226n77
Goltzius, Hendrick 39n101, 50

Gonzaga, Vincenzo 20, 160n185
Gonzaga court (Mantua) 24, 142; *see also* Gonzaga, Vincenzo
Goulu, Père Jean 51, 66, 74; *Lettres de Phyllarque à Ariste* 51, 61, 66, 77; Rubens's interest in 66–7
Gualdo, Paolo 111
Guercino xxii
Guild of St. Luke *see* Antwerp: Guild of St. Luke
grammars, generative: in drawing 67, 75–6, 190; in writing 60, 85n138
grande âme, Senecan *see* Seneca the Younger: *grande âme*; and Rubens, Peter Paul, *Medea Fleeing with her Dead Children*, case study
grace, in drawing 126, 131, 176, 182, 202–3, 210, 217–20; *see also grazia*
gravitas 65, 120, 124, 129, 147; *see also all'antica* style
Gray, Hanna 8
grazia xxi, 3
Greene, Thomas 75

Haberditzl, Franz Martin 176
habitude 145
hand: of the artist xxi–xxiii, 10–12, 14, 16, 28–9, 48–50, 75, 100, 103, 106, 146; gestures of the 68, 135, 140, 147n4, 156n133; iconography 110–12, 115, 130–32, 135, 192, 198, 201–3, 216; in inscriptions 64, 67–9, 95, 100, 198; *see also handeling*
handelingh 50, 70, 89n222; *see also* Hoogstraten, Samuel van
handwriting: and drawing 70, 89n222, 90n228; in personal epistles 63–4, 68; style, as reflecting maker 70; *see also* calligraphy
Happaert, Johannes Phillipus 11, 225n64
Haydocke, Richard 210
health metaphor: artistic and social 9, 16, 31, 54, 59, 74, 178, 183, 188, 190, 200–202, 219; passions as disease 148n11; physical 194; *see also* Quintilian: bodily health metaphor; and vigor
heat: creative 10, 15, 58, 183, 194, 200, 219–20; figural, male 183, 186–7, 190, 194, 202, 210, 216; hot-bloodedness 174, 194, 202, 210, 216; humoral 194, 200; *see also* fire; and *rubur*
Heinen, Ulrich 4, 135
Held, Julius xix, xxiv–xxv, 29, 68, 99, 108, 116–17, 129–30, 143
Heraclitus 53
Hercules *see* Farnese Hercules; and Commodus, Emperor (as Hercules)
Hermathena 7–8, 20, 34n25
history painting 5, 23, 116, 186; *see also istoria*
Holbein, Hans xxv, 17, 49, 68, 70
honey and bee metaphor 19, 54–5, 176
Honig, Elizabeth 76n1, 220n1
Hoogstraten, Samuel van 19, 24, 50, 70, 79n32, 79n37, 164, 171; *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst* 50
Horace 14, 51–2, 145; *Ars Poetica* 51; *see also ut pictura poesis*
Howard, Thomas (second Earl of Arundel) 35n33, 38n86, 224n42
Huemer, Frances 120
humanism, as archaeological enterprise 75, 91n248
humors, related to xxvii, 181, 183, 194–85, 181, 200
Huvenne, Paul 11, 220n1
hybrid figures 44n189; *see also* typology, figural

Idea 12–14, 99, 106, 176, 224n45
ideal, idealization: architectural 179; body as microcosm of divine perfection 208, 226n78; figural 163–4, 178–9, 181, 183, 190–200, 205; diverging from the 186, 218; geometry 205–6; male type 201–3; models: classical 19, 24–5, 132, 176, 188, 205; poetic 4, 52, 191
ignudi 181, 186, 232n206
illustratio 68
imagination, role of: for artist 13–16, 19, 24, 28, 52, 72, 106, 178; viewer 126, 139, 141–2, 146, 182, 214
imitation: disguised 6, 54, 82n85; eristic 54, 82n85; Renaissance 5–6, 25; slavish or childish approaches to 24, 31, 59, 67, 73, 174; *see also* copies, copying; and *De Imitatione Statuarum*
De Imitatione Statuarum (Imitation of antique statuary) 30–31, 47, 54, 67, 73, 124, 163, 174, 177, 179, 183, 188, 190–95
independent drawings xxiv, 21, 70, 98, 119, 145, 171, 221n15
ingenium 8, 11, 13, 15, 31, 52, 72–3, 98, 175–7
in medias res 120
inscriptions: on drawings 26, 29, 68–9, 71, 89s210, 89n211, 133; related to *Medea Fleeing* 95, 110–11, 115–16, 118, 120
inventio and *executio*: separation of xxi, xxviii, 13; in Raphael's workshop 99; in Rubens's workshop 13–14, 99

inventory *see Specification*
istoria 5, 135, 162, 176, 200

Jabach, Everhard 10
Jacobs, Fredrika 53
Jaffé, David, 172
Jaffé, Michael 4, 178
Janssen, Abraham 185
Jesuits 52; 83n92, Figure 0.4; *see also* Antwerp: center of Jesuit influence; and Rubens, Peter Paul: Jesuit patronage
Joannides, Paul 217
Jombert, Charles-Antoine 28, 43n183, 126–7; 169, 181, 191–5, 197–8, 200, 222n17; *La Théorie de la Figure Humaine* 126; Figures 3.13, 4.14, and 4.16
Jondorf, Gillian 95, 153n91, 159n171
judicio 8, 31, 147, 174, 176–7
Junius, Franciscus 4–5, 25, 64, 72; bemoaning lack of recent models 67; *Catalogus* of exempla 23; classical allusions and style 124–5; *energia* 216–17, 233n212; figural health and virility 164, 169, 190, 194, 201–3, 216–18; influence on Rubens 194, 201–2, 211, 214, 216; motions of the mind 106, 108, 202, 217; on moral and corruptive art 9; *The Painting of the Ancients* (*De Pictura Veterum*) 9, 14–15, 23, 54–6, 125, 162, 164, 176, 202–3, 214, 216; Pattern and Designe 14; Pliny's influence on 15; Quintilian's influence and painting as robust oratory 9, 183; rhetorical concerns 162; Rubens's praise of 15; Studious Artificer 15, 96, 99, 147, 221n4; on unfinished sketches 15, 96, 99; virtue and *vir bonus* 183
Junius, Melchior 52

Kemp, Martin 49

labor: on division of in Rubens's studio 11, 36n44; as virtue 9, 221n4, 57–8, 148n16, 162, 182–83, 190–91, 219–20
laconismus 61, 65, 70, 88n186, 104; *see also* *brevitas*, style: laconic, plain style
Lancelot, Claude 57
Laocoön 24–6, 100, 132–7, 157n150, 190, 195, 197, 216; Figures 3.15, 3.16, 3.17, Plate 27
Lankrink, Henry 11
laziness: artistic and social 9, 31, 47, 66, 188, 190, 195; bodily 65–6; letter writing, pertaining to 65–6
Le Brun, Charles: expression studies 135–7, 157n150, Figure 3.17, Plate 28; Cartesian influence 137, 157n149
Leonardo da Vinci: a*ll'improvviso* drawing 99; anatomical studies 178, 181; Aristotelian epistemology 13–14; distilling ideas in drawing 119; empirical interests 188; expression studies 134–5; microcosm 183, 191, 201, 226n78, 228n125; notebooks, theoretical 28, 70; nudes, male 169, 208, 214, 217; personal style 48–50; poetic furor 15; serializations 119; shared contours 131; Rubens retouching of 10; Rubens's studies after 190–95; value of drawings 12; Vitruvian Man 183; Figure 4.14, Plate 20
Leoni, Pompeo 28, 43n182, 181, 208, 225n61, 231n190
letter writing, personal: antiquarian concerns 65, 44n196, 230n164; as cognate of drawing 64–75, 90n243, 230n164; Cicero 63; in Lipsius's and Rubens's *milieu* 59–76, 86n156; Pliny the Younger 63; Rubens 59, 63–7; *see also* letters, personal; and Republic of Letters
letters, personal: advantages of 86n162, 60–67; brevity in 63, 86n156; collections of 63–4; Demetrius 61–2; as distinct from written oration 60–61; drawings on and with 68–9, 89n217, 111; erudition of 62–7; lack of polish in 63; Lipsius 59–63; as mirrors of the maker 86n153; as messages of the mind 61, 90n236; and Rubens, xxiii, 11, 59, 63–7; as self-revelatory 61–2; *see also* Lipsius, Justus: *Epistolica Institutio*; and Magurn, Ruth Saunders
liberté, in drawing 183, 215
Lipsius, Justus: *De Constantia* 19–21, 47, 59, 216; *De Epistolica Institutio* 23, 51, 54, 60–63, 67, 72–3, 201; brief, plain style 61, 66–7, 86n161; form and matter 31; *Lipsiana modo* 65; models, need for new, updated 67; Neostoic values 20–21; pedagogical concerns 73; *Politica* 19–20, 118; *Physiologica Stoicorum* 31; in Rome 19; and Rubens xxviii, 4, 8, 11, 14, 17, 117–18; as Senecan specialist 116; Seneca's *Opera Omnia*, Lipsius's editions of 23, 27; on slavish copying, 67; social and political anxieties 47, 59, 84n121, 87n166; virile style 67; *see also* Neostoicism; and Seneca the Younger: Lipsius, influence on
liefhebbers xxiii, 10, 14, 46, 172, 185
liveliness, rhetoric of: alertness 116, 171, 203, 216, 218–19; animation, graphic 186, 215,

229; figural 174, 183, 185, 188, 200, 202, 215–16, 220; of spirit 106, 146; *see also enargeia* and enlivenment
Livy 5
Logan, Anne-Marie xvii, 11, 71
Loh, Maria 49
Lomazzo, G.P. *disegno* 13; emotional states 29; *figura serpentinata* 210; human proportions, theory 181; personal style, approach to 49; "S" and "~" 210–11, 214; strong male as Hercules 193, 198, 202, 205, 208, 217–20; *Treatise on the art of painting* 12, 198

macchia, macchie 98, 149n21
McCrea, Andrea 57, 59, 84n123
McGrath, Elizabeth 4, 7, 11, 53, 111, 117, 143
Macrobius 54
maenad 126–7, 155n114, Figure 3.13
Magurn, Ruth Saunders 63–4
malaise, Cartesian 139–40; *see also* melancholy
Mander, Karel van 50, 53, 182, 221n15, 223n32; *Grondt der edel vry Schilderkonst* 50
maniera xxiii, 13, 25, 39n100, 47–49, 78n12
Mannerism 77n12, 78n12, 104; *see also maniera*
Mantuan circle 20, Plate 8
MS de Ganay 43n183, 163, 200, 215, 222n17
MS Johnson xxv, 28, 163, 169, 178, 194, 200–206, 210–11, 214, Figures 4.17, 4.19, 4.21
medical analogy: cures for sickness 59, 77n8; disordered bodies as sick 226n78; linguistic illness 59; and Rubens 188; sickness of body politic 47, 59, 77n8
Medici, Marie de': cycle of xxiii, 6–7, 49, 176–7; marriage of to Henri IV 142, 160n185
Mariette, P.J. xix, 15, 107–8, 129
massacre of the innocents 107–11, 129–32, 137, 140, 143; Figures 3.5, 3.14, Plates 17, 18
Mattei, Cyriacus 121
Medea: attributes of 115; classical models 152n64; Corneille's version 140; as demi-human 152n68; emblematic representations of 112–14; Erasmus's version 139; as *exemplum doloris* 137; iconography 152n65; isolation 116, 152n69; as negative *exemplum* 112; Renaissance depictions of 95–6; Seneca's version, through Lipsius 115–18; 126, 128, 138–46; as unnatural, wicked mother 112, 114; as supernatural sorceress 128–9; *see also* Euripides, *Medea*; and Rubens, Peter Paul, *Medea Fleeing with her Dead Children*, case study
Melanchthon, Philip 138–9
melancholy: as early modern preoccupation 139–40, 172; Farnese Hercules 120, 203; "melancholic mode" 139–40; Seneca's *Medea* 138–40
Memory: of art, dying 9; games 119; graphic metaphors for 71, 74; impressions on the mind 74, 90n230; of Isabella Brandt, for Rubens 65; as a visual faculty 13, 52, 71
Mercator, Gerard 70–71; *Literarum Latinarium . . . Ratio* 70, Figure 2.2
Mercurialis, Hieronymus (Girolamo Mercuriale) 31, 45n206, 183, 190, 193–4, 228n119; *De Arte Gymnastica Libri Sex* 31, 183, 190, 194, 227n117
Mercury: as eloquence 7, 8, 20–21, 34n22, 34n25, 188; as pagan model 188; Mercury Spoon 69; *see also* Hermathena
Mersenne, Marin 142
Meulen, Marjon van der 4, 154n103, 198, 205, 222n17
Michel, Emile 69, 223n41
Michelangelo 10, 12, 29; contour drawings, contours 70, 89n221, 183; drawings in Rubens's collection 108, 163; *figura serpentinata* 210–11, 214–15; hanging arm motif 129; as model 47–9; *non-finito* drawings 74, the nude 134, 169, 179, 181–3, 185–6, 188, 193, 202, 211, 213–17; Rubens drawing after 125; unrestrained extremities 214–15; Figures 3.12, 4.22, Plates 11, 38; *see also ignudi*
mise-en-page 124–6, 154n109
modes: of expression 65, 142; *Lipsiana modo* 65; musical 142, 160n182; 160n184; of signification 60, 126; *see also modo variato*
models: classical xx, xxv, 51–6, 120–29, 175, 188–200, 203–9, 212, 217; hybrid approach to 175–8, 181; storehouse of 15–17, 19, 25, 30, 60, 72; studio 171–71, 175–6; *see also De Imitatione Statuarum modo variato* 60
Montagu, Jennifer 137
Montaigne, Michel de 54, 56–9, 64, 74, 83n101, 109, 138–9; *Essays* 57; *le style coupé* 104, 143
Monteverdi, Claudio 142, 160n185
Morelli, Giovanni xix
Moretus, Balthasar I 4–5, 20–21, 23, 30, 68
Moretus, Jan 20

Morford, Mark 7, 19, 61
Motion, motions: of the body 102–3, 106, 119–20, 201–202, 216–18; associated with liveliness and strength 217–18, 231n186, 233n218; of the mind 106; of the soul 58, 108, 115, 120, 133–7, 145, 200–202; as "spirit of the picture" 210; *see also affetti*; passions; and serializations, graphic
mouvements composés 137; *see also* Le Brun, Charles: expression studies
Muller, Jeffrey 4, 28, 54, 178, 181
Müller-Hofstede Justus xxv, 4, 13, 29
multivalency 74, 109, 146, 220
music: early modern 142–3; *musique mesurée à l'antiquité* 143
Muybridge, Eadweard 119
myology 202, 208, 231n190

Neostoicism 7, 17, 19–21, 23, 58–9, 105, 107, 116, 120, 137–8, 140, 146–7; spread into England 57–58; spread into France 58–59
Nicole, Pierre 57
Niobe 97, 117, 122–3, 134, 138, 157n140, Figure 3.10
niobids 122–3, Figure 3.10
non-finito sketches xxv, 14–16, 74
Noort, Adam van 12, 17, 99
Norgate, Edward 163, 172–4, 178, 190, 194, 211, 217, 224n42, 233n218; *The Art of Limning* 163, 172, 174, 224n42, 233n218
nudes, nudity: *ad vivum* 172, 182; appropriateness of chalk 171; conceptual implications of 124; display of, in drawing 185; health 178; male; rough 202; *see also* and clothing: skin as; and Rubens, Peter Paul: *Kneeling Man*, case study
numismatics 153n96

obedience, value of 84n121, 224n52; *see also* drawing: slavish or childish imitation; and imitation: slavish or childish approaches to
oil sketches xxiv, 88n203
omtreck xxv; *see also* contour drawings; and contours, in drawing
oratory, classical *see* Cicero; and Quintilian
ordo 55–6, 62
Orfeo 142
originality xxii–iii, 14; *see also capriccio*; and hand of the artist
Ortelius, Abraham 63
Ovid 5, 122–3, 143; *Metamorphosis* 122–3

Pacioli, Fra Luca 181, 205, 226n69; *De divina proportione* 181
Paduan Lion xx, 6, 27, Plate 6
Panneels, Willem xxv, 12, 48, 133, 163, Figures 3.16, 4.12
Parhassius 7, 214, 216
passions: 20, 28, 65, 106, 108, 116, 134–5, 138–9, 156n133; dangers of 97, 112, 116, 137, 145, 147, 148n11; *see also affetti*
pathos 29, 97, 108, 129–38, 143; "pathos formula" 55n127
Pausias 7, 53
pedagogy: *see* drawing, workshop training; *praxis*; and Lipsius: *Epistolica Institutio*
Peiresc, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de xxiii, 4, 11, 26, 30, 65, 69–70, 111, 128
pentimenti xxi, 57, 179, 183
La Pérouse 95, 138, 140–41, 143
perspicuitas 62, 35n32
Petel, Georg 134
Petrarch 6, 47
peu finis drawings 14–15; *see also non-finito* sketches
Phaedra 97, 138
philautia 66
philologists, philology 4, 8, 19–20, 45n206, 65, 70, 87n166, 97
philophronesis 62; *see also* letters, personal: Demetrius
physiognomy 157n147, 181, 225n61; *see also* Porta, Giambattista della
Pico della Mirandola 47
pictor doctus see Veen, Otto van
Pigman, Walter 124
Piles, Roger de, on Rubens 5, 10, 14–15, 23, 26–28; artifice 182–3; drawings as first thoughts 99; effects, *touches* 176; enlivening 215–16; Imitation treatise 163; love of antiquity 120; Pocketbook 135; knowledge of anatomy 182; natural effects, figural 187, 193; rhetorical thrust of his art 182–3; surrendering to genius 106
pineal gland 137
Pisano, Giovanni 107
Plantin and Plantin-Moretus Press *see* Antwerp: Plantin and Plantin-Moretus Press
Plato 59, 111, 158n159, 160n192, 230n175
Pliny the Elder 5, 15–17, 30, 53, 55, 99, 214; *Natural History* 53
Pliny the Younger 63
Plomp, Michiel 10
Pocketbook, Rubens's 14, 28, 126, 135, 163, 169, 198–9, 205, 212, Figures 4.17, 4.19, 4.21; *see also* MS de Ganay; and MS Johnson
Politian 47

Port Royal circle (Paris) 57
Porta, Giambattista della 181, 195, 200, 229n147, 230n164
portraits xix, xxiv, xxvii, 20–21, 23, 30, 52, 64
Poussin, Nicolas 107
praxis 17, 31, 98, 60, 106, 166
Priscien 47
proofs, graphic *see dimostrazione*
prosopopoeia 139
prototypes, for Rubens 55–6, 72; *see also* models
prudentia, prudence 25, 30, 47, 58–9, 61, 65, 84n121
Puyvelde, Leo van 16
Pythagoras 233; Pythagorean geometry 230n175

Quellinus, Erasmus II 14, 98
Quesnoy, François du 223n41
Quintilian: art of eloquence 8–9, 31, 52, 54, 73, 234n231; cubic basis of robust male 52, 222n17; health metaphor 194, 234n231; enlivenment and *energia* 31, 124, 187, 194, 216; influence on early modern writers 143; influence on Erasmus 59–60; influence on Franciscus Junius 9, 162, 194, 203, 216; influence on Lipsius 54, 60–63, 67, 73; influence on Rubens 5, 17, 25, 28, 54, 66, 124, 169, 174, 177, 187, 194–5, 198, 201, 215, 219–20; *De Institutio Oratoria* 8–9, 51–2, 54, 61, 194, 203; eclecticism and selective imitation 28, 31, 50, 52, 54, 59; orators as strong athletes 54, 174, 194, 219; *res* and *verba* 56; robust oratory 8–9; 31, 51–2, 54, 194–5, 203, 217, 219–20, 234n231; "virile style" 54; warnings about ornamentation 203

Racine 95, 138, 141, 159n177
rapen 50; *see also* digestion metaphor
Raphael xxv, 6, 12–13, 15, 17, 25, 47–9, 99–100, 104, 107–09, 130–35, 176, 224n45; studio of 14, 107–8; 130–31; style of xxv, 103, 119, 129–31, 183; Figure 3.5, Plates 13, 16, 24
Rawson, Philip 29, 126
Reilly, Patricia 224n54
Rembrandt van Rijn xxii, 48, 50, 78n13, 142, 169, 172
Reni, Guido 107
Republic of Letters 59, 63, 87n166, 89n218
retouched drawings xxi, xxiii–xiv, 10, 27, 36n46, 49, 176
Reynolds, Joshua 42n157, 176, 187, 215, 224n49
rhetoric: classical and classically inspired, 51–67; pictorial, Rubens' commitment to 30, 182, 187; *see also* Rubens, Peter Paul: rhetorical and poetic preoccupations; and Rubens, Peter Paul, drawings: rhetorical considerations and effects
Ripa, Cesare 112
robustia (*robustum*) 169, 194, 217, 220, 222n17, 234n231; of 52, 205–11, 214, 222n17; *see also* robust male nude; and Quintilian: robust oratory
robust male nude: as metaphor for Ruben's newly robust art 220; as pictorial scaffolding 185–6; *see also* Rubens, Peter Paul, *Kneeling Man*, case study
Rockox, Nicolas 170, 184
Rodee, Howard xxvii
Rohmaterial 29, 44n188, 109; *see also* typology, figural
Rooses, Max 17, 107
Rosand, David 49
Routrou, Jean de 56, 140
Rubens, Albert (Peter Paul's son) 69
Rubens, Constantia Albertina 12
rubur, rubarazzo xxvii, 178, 187, 194, 201–2, 228n138; *see also* health
Rubens, Peter Paul: anatomical knowledge 182; ambitions xxvii, 3, 9; antiquarian and philological concerns 5, 65–70, 72, 153n96, 223n41; in Antwerp 5, 7–8, 16–17, 20, 53, 186, 188, 190; as apprentice 17, 25–6, 28; archaeological approach 75, 125; Aristotelian concerns 120, 90n230; as civically minded 47; classical preoccupations xxiii, 3–7, 174, 223n41; as collaborator 11, 98; as collector 5, 10, 22–3, 35n37, 49, 134, 156n137, 163, 174, 223n41; as court painter 4; critiques of faulty draftsmanship 58, 187–88, 234n228; diplomatic interests 3–4, 11, 28, 46, 63–4, 163, 170–71; *disegno*, commitment to 1–31; emulation: 24–5; as erudite, humanist artist xiv, xxviii, 3–5, 7–8, 11, 16–20, 76; Flanders, love of 46, 223n41; imitation, selective 55–6; form and content 56, 74, 220; as god-like creator 182; as history painter 5, 23, 116, 135, 162, 176, 186, 200; humanistic study 17, 20; Jesuit patronage of 46–7, 77n3; "living" approach to art 74; as master artist 16–17; mnemonic concerns 72–3; mind as inimitable xxvii; nature and naturalism 27, 124, 164; as new

Apelles 81n67; as new Zeuxis 53, 81n67, 183; Neostoicism 17, 19–21, 58–59; *ordo* 56; personal library 6; political and civic engagement 47, 58; political worries 77n6; quality of intellect 13–15, 65, 99; rhetorical and poetic preoccupations xxv–xxvi, 75, 182, 185; Roman period xxi, xxvii, 16–45; Rome, collections visited 121–2; Seneca the Younger's influence on 5, 19–24, 30–31, 48, 54–6, 67, 70–73, 95–7, 106–21, 138–46; Seneca through Lipsius, knowledge of 117–18; sensorial concerns 72; signature style of thinking 200, 220; as Studious Artificer 107, 147, 200; style, importance of 56; types of art xix, 5; *see also* Antwerp: Rubens's studio/workshop; *De figuris humanis*; *De Imitatione Statuarum*; Pocketbook, Rubens's; and Specification

Rubens, Peter Paul, as a draftsman: *all'antica* style 120–29; ambitions 74, 96–7, 220–21; artistic formation in Rome 16–45; corrections, open to 58; eclecticism xix–xxviii; emulation 5, 10, 16–17, 23–5, 100, 128; facility 182; frequency of drawing 25; as humanist; laboring 76, 220; as impassioned 58; lack of interest in drawing nudes after life 173–4; masterly personal style 16–17; as poet of robust health 188; as polyphonic orator 73; prizing substance over style 76; as robust draftsman 76, 220; selective imitation, of models 25, 61, 120–29; 175; self-consciousness 100; signature style of drawing xxii–xxiv, xxviii 76, 200, 220; signature ways of thinking 106; *sprezzatura* style 58; studio practices 164; *Sturm und Drang* approach 58; stylistic flexibility xxi; types and techniques xix–xxviii; updating the past 58, 96; *see also* Rubens, Peter Paul, drawings

Rubens, Peter Paul, drawings: abstractions in 103, 117, 146; antiquarian and philological 68–70, 89n218, 223n41; artifice 76, 182; attribution, questions of 48, 78n15; authorial implications 106; as collector's objects 98; complexity 104, 138; conceptual underpinnings xxvii, 12–14, 75–6; 100–04, 108–10, 123–4, 138, 164–5, 174–6; complexity of xxv; creative furor 15; deliberative 100–104, 145; as demonstrations 14, 68, 135; directionality in 118–19; as *disegno* 12, 75, 99, 106, 166, 175, 183, 206, 220; dispersal of, posthumous 12; documentary concerns 69–70; eclecticism of, xix, xxvii–xxviii, 7, 16, 23; emulation, self- 100, 103–4; expressive interests xxv, 104, 143–4; first thoughts 15, 88n203, 99; foundation for mature art 16–31; gender implications 106, 116, 122, 139, 194–5, 203, 215; generative grammars 75; humanist appeal 96, 145–7; as *illustratio* 68–9; imagination 14, 100, 103, 214; internal and external design xxv, xxvii, 56, 106; as intimate enterprise 11; invention 118; judiciousness 103–4; landscape xxv, xxvii, 7, 221n15; as mental impressions 72–73; and memory 119; mirrors of the maker xxvii, 14, 75; models, bemoaning lack of 67; models, figural 178; motifs, reusable 97; and narrative 104, 118–19; as "mother of painting" 220; motion 215; "parting out" of the body 205–6; privileged activity 9–11; as pedagogical models xxv, 12, 74, 76; pragmatic approach to 12; praxis 17, 31, 60, 98, 166; quality of 13, 62, 65, 68, 72, 74, 146, 176, 185; rapidity of execution xxvii, 15; rhetorical considerations and effects xxvii, xxvii, 3, 6–7, 97, 103, 176, 188; spatial concerns 104, 142; speed of 149n29; spontaneity, appearance of 100, 105–6; style, disjunctures of 142–3, 145–7; style, expressive function of 119, 122; style, personal 16; style, spirited 146–7, 215; style, of a thought, 68; subjects of correspondence 68–70; storage of xxiv, 11; as "tissue of metaphors" 74; as topics of learned conversation; value of 11–12; *see also* Rubens, Peter Paul, *Kneeling Man*, case study; and Rubens, Peter Paul, *Three Sketches for Medea and her Children* (case study)

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Kneeling Man* (case study): alertness, virtues of 216, 218–19; anatomy, study of 181–82; architectural metaphor 179, 180, 185–6, 214–15; athletes, porters, executioners, wrestlers, as models 186–8, 191–2, 202, 219; athleticism of 219–20; Belvedere Torso 208–9, 217, Figures 4.20, 4.23; best skill and best matter 183–200; compromised male nudes 182, 184, 186–8; 190, 193, 195; contours, flexed "living" 211, 215–16; *Crassitudo* 206, 208, 211; cubic basis 206–8, Figure 4.19; as demonstration of concept 163–4; descriptions of "just right" male nude 194, 201–2, 218; differences in the sexes 190, 194–5, 199–200, 203, 215; drawing in

context 183–200; *energia* 216, 219; enlivening antique statuary 208, 215–17; as extraordinary argument 163–4, 220; Farnese Hercules 203–8, 212, Figures 4.18, 4.19, 4.21; feminine vices 195, 199–200, 203, 215; as *figura serpentinata* 210–11; form and matter 177, 179, 197–8; *furia* 220; geometric underpinnings 193–4, 198–200, 206, 210, 214, Figure 4.17; grace in 219–20; heat 220; humoral considerations 190, 194–5; Leonardo 208, 213–14, 217, Plate 39; life drawing, question of 164–74; Lomazzo 208, 210, 214, 218–20; as metaphor for Rubens's robust art, 219–20; Michelangelo 211, 217, Plate 38; mobility in 215–17, 218–20; models, classical 188–200, 203–9, 212, 217; models, hybrid approach to 175–8, 181; myology 193; Neostoic virtues of 219; nudity as clothing, façade 179, 181, 202–3; *pentimenti* 179; as rhetorical enterprise 174–83; robust male nude 162–83; *rubur*, heat associated with 178, 187, 194–5, 201–2, 210, 228n138; solidity, bodily 210–12; style 182–3, 208, 219–20; "trussing", undergirding 214–15; Tuscan column 198; "unrestrained extremeties" 214, 216; Van Dyck's *Kneeling Man* 171–2, 182, 214, 220, 222n26; Plate 30

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Three Sketches for Medea and her Children* (case study): abstraction in 103, 117; *all'antica* style 120–29; *all'improvviso* sketch 98–9, 104, 107; ambiguity of 111, 117, 140; archaeological approach to interpretation 97, 129; beholder's share 109, 147; as *catharsis* 120, 140; clarity of expression 95; classical models associated with 100, 111, 115, 120–29; conceptual underpinnings 96, 106, 109, 123–4, 130–32; contours 103; decorum in 126; as *disegno* 106; *dispositio* 132; effects, stylistic 105, 141; emulation, classical 120–29; enlivenment, figural 124–25; Euripides 110; as *exemplum doloris* 137; fire 110; *furia* 107, 118, 126; *gravitas* 120; grief and suffering 95, 97, 108; humanist delectation, object of 105, 111, 121; imagination, artistic 103; impassioned drawing 97; as independent drawing 98; informal epistles, likened to 96, 105; laconic style 104, 120, 140; massacre of the innocents 107–9, Figure 3.5; Medea, in northern emblems 112–14; Medea, and pity 114–15, 120, 128, 138, 145; Medea, human, emotive side 111–12, 114–16; Medea, as *maenad* 126; Medea, as murderous mother; Medea, as supernatural sorceress 128–9; as metaphor for drawing 145–7; as modern, Senecan "Great Soul" 138–47; *mis-en-page* 124, 126; motion, figural 102, 119–20; narrative aspects 104, 118–19; Neostoic inspiration 138–9; order of execution 97; pathos, language of 129–38; and the passions 97, 106; Raphael, influence 99–100; 103–4, 107–9, 129–31, 134–35, 149n24, 154n99, 156n129, 156n130, 156n131, Figure 3.14, Plate 13, Plate 24; rhetorical basis 97, 104; self-emulation xxv, 100–04; Senecan influence on 115–18; serialization 119–20; *simplicitas* 95, 97–9, 107; *sprezzatura* style 98; style, role of 130–32, 141–7; theater, early modern, associations with 95, 138–41; thematic "raw material" 109, 117, 140; as tragedy 110, 115; violence, questions of 108, 114; as Neostoic warning 97, 115–16; Plate 15

Rubens, Philip (Peter Paul's brother) 14, 17, 19–21, 46, 63, 65, 72, 187; *Electorum Libri Duo* 14, 20, 38n85, 72

Rubens, Philip (Peter Paul's nephew) 15–17, 23, 163; *Life of Rubens* 15–17, 23, 26

Rubens School Engravings 185

Rudolph II, court of (Prague) 7, 50, 79n40

St. Ambroise, Abbé de 7

Saint-Beuve, Charles Augustin 74

Sallust 52, 61, 64, 67, 86n142

Sanderson, William 106, 146, 149n23, 185; *Graphice, The Use of the Pen and Pensil* 185

Sarto, Andrea del 108

sartorial metaphor: bodily clothing 178–9, 191, 202–3; letters, personal 62, 73; for eloquence, style 62, 73–4, 166; *see also* clothing

Scaliger, J.J. 4, 63

schizzi xxi, 26, 88n203, 89n211, 97, 99, 104, 149n20; *see also* oil sketches; and *sprezzatura* drawing

Selden, John 65; *De Diis syntagmata* 65, 87n182

Scioppius, Gaspar 4

sculpture, classical: *see* enlivenment: of antique statuary; models: classical

Scuola Nuova tapestry series, scenes from the Life of Christ (Rome, Vatican) 107, 128,

155n128, 156n129, Plate 24; *see also* Vincidor, Tommaso
self, the: ideas of 46, 76n1; self-fashioning 46; self-emulation xxv, 100–104; viewer 46, 76; *see also* consciousness; Eloquent I; and self-portraits
self-portraits 20–21, 74, 89n221, Plates 8, 9
Seneca the Younger (Lucius Annaeus Seneca) 5, 20, 23, 54–8, 61, 115, 118, 153n83, 221n4; brevity 61, 67, 72, 86n146; eclecticism 23, 28, 61; *grande âme* 138–40, 143, Figure 1.6; *Hercules Oetaeus* 140; imitation 59, 73; influence on early modern French dramatists 139–41, 143; *Letters to Lucilius* 54–5, 73, 82n86, 138; Lipsius, influence on 19–23, 56–63, 67–8, 73, 85n142, 139; love furor 138; *Natural Questions* 116; passions, warnings about 97; *see also* Lipsius: Seneca's *Opera Omnia*; Neostoicism; and Rubens, Peter Paul: *Medea Fleeing with her Dead Children*, case study
serializations, graphic xxvii, 118–20, 143
Serlio, Sebastiano 159n174, 214, 231n194
sickness, artistic and social *see* medical analogy
Sidney, Sir Philip 63
signature style: of drawing xxii–xxiv, xxviii, 47–50, 76, 200, 220; of thinking 200, 220
Silvestre, Théophile 188
simplicitas 57, 62, 64, 86n156, 97, 104–7, 146–7; *see also laconismus*
sketchbook, Rubens's *see* Pocketbook, Rubens's; MS de Ganay; and MS Johnson
skin 171, 178, 203, 216–17; *see also* clothing: skin as; and sartorial metaphor: bodily clothing
Snyders, Frans xxiii, 185
Sohm, Philip 49, 70
Specification 10, 163
Sperling, Otto xxiii, 5, 23, 36n50
Spinario 27, 164, 221n11
spirit: in drawing 146–7, 215; of a picture 210; *see also esprit*; *liberté*, in drawing
Spranger, Bartholomeus 7, 34n24
sprezzatura: drawing 48, 50, 58, 70, 98, 147; essays and personal letters: 57, 64; thinking 64; *see also all'improvviso* drawing; and *schizzi*
Stechow, Wolfgang 4
Stimmer, Tobias xx, 26, 49, 102, 119, 150n44, 158n167, Plate 1
Stoicism 20, 23, 57–8, 70, 138; *see also* Neostoicism
Stradanus, Jan 176–7, Figure 4.8
strength, bodily *see robustia*; and Tuscan column, as metaphor for male strength
studiolo 36n51, 68
style: of the ancients 61; antique effect xxvii; bodily metaphor for 73–4; clarity of 66; the condensed style 74; corruption of 73–4, 86n146, 90n237, 160n184, 203; in drawing xix, 49–51; the laconic, plain style 62–3, 86n161; 90n239; in Rubens's *milieu*, 46–91; *stilo vires*, masculine 54, 61, 67, 234n231; of a thought 56, 75; treatises, classical and classically inspired 51–67; *see also maniera*; and superficiality
Summers, David 49
superficiality: fears about 66, 73, 203; of style 57–8, 61, 73, 203
Sustermans, Justus 7, 95, 97, 147
syntagmes 126

Tacitus 5, 19–21, 23, 30, 58–9, 61, 65, 67
tapestry 107, 129–31, 148n8
taste, appetite metaphor: language 73; models 56, 73; style 66; *see also dicentia*; and digestion metaphor
theater 95, 120, 138–41; *see also* Euripides; *Medea*; Seneca the Younger
Thirty Years War 3, 47, 77n6
Thisbe 48, 97, 116, 138–40, 141, 143, 145, 159n175, 160n191, Plate 29
Timanthes 5, 53, 87n164
Tintoretto 143, 185–6, 216
Titian 27–8, 108, 152n75
title pages 18–23, 27, 30, 38n80, 153n96, Figures 1.5, 1.6
tonus 217, 233n216, 233n219
tragedy *see* theater
translation, of models *see* emulation; and imitation
Triest, Antoine 11
tripods: ancient 89n217; drawings of 69–70
tronies 12, 133; *see also* expression studies
Trumbull, William xxiii, 88n187
Tuscan column, as metaphor for strength 198, 202, 214, 231n194
Twelve Years' Truce 46, 170
typology, figural 44n187, 109, 139, 195

ut pictura poesis 4, 14, 52, 175; *see also* Horace

Valla, Lorenzo 51, 60, 126; *Elegantiae linguae latinae* 51

Vandenbroeck, Paul 220n1
Veen, Otto van 4, 12–13, 17, 20, 23, 46, 53, 99, 107, 145; *see also pictor doctus*
variety *see* eclecticism; and *verscheydenheden*
Vasari, Giorgio xxviii, 9, 13–14, 48–9, 53, 178, 220; *see also disegno* and *Idea*
Vatican Belvedere (Rome) 24, 107, 112, 115, 128, 132,
vehemence 194, 200, 203, 217, 219; *see also robustia*
venustas 62, 78n21
verba and res 54, 60
verborum 62; *see also* Erasmus: *De duplici copia rerum ac verborum*
Vergara, Lisa 7
Verhaect, Tobias 12, 17
verscheydenheden 50
Vesalius 28, 43n181, 169, 181; *De humani corporis fabrica Libri septem* 181
Vignère, Blaise de 126
vigor, *vigerouse*: artistic, graphic 67, 75, 185, 220; health 219; heat and liveliness, associated with 194, 200; intellectual 58; male, figural 30–31, 174, 183, 187, 190–91, 193–5, 201, 215; manual 58; as metaphor for painting 186; models 75, 190; oratory, associated with 54, 219; of movement 191–2, 215; physical 66, 190–92; social 188, 190 stylistic 58, 62, 65, 182; *see also robustia*; Rubens, Peter Paul, *Kneeling Man* (case study)
Villa Borghese (Rome) 122–4, 154n104, 198
Villa Farnesina (Rome) 17, 176
Villiers, George (Duke of Buckingham 132, 156n137
Vincidor, Tommaso 107, 129, 156n128, 156n129, Figure 3.14, Plate 24
Virgil 5, 191; *Aeneid* 191
virility *see* robust male nude; and *robustia*
vitality *see* enlivenment; and *vivacità*
Vitruvius 181, 198, 205, 230n177; *De Architectura* 181, 205, 230n177
vivacità 187, 194, 216
Vlieghe, Hans 171
Vorsterman, Lucas 185

Walker, Suzanne 86n158, 226n74, 227n92
Weststijn, Thijs 108
Weyermann, J.C. 187
wit, innate *see ingenium*
workshops *see* drawings, workshop traditions
Wouk, Edward xxvii, 216
Woverius, Jan 17, 20–21, 63, 68
wrestlers 190–92, 215; *Uffizi Wrestlers*, 215, Figures 4.12, 4.13

Zuccaro, Federico 12–13, 106; *Idea of painters, sculptors and architects* 12–13

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